







THE LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER SMITH,

CAPTAIN OF

THE ISLAND OF PITCAIRN;

ONE OF THE MUTINEERS

ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP

BOUNTY;

COMMANDED BY LIEUT. WM. BLIGH.

WRITTEN BY SMITH HIMSELF,

ON THE ABOVE ISLAND, AND BRINGING THE ACCOUNTS

FROM PITCAIRN, DOWN TO THE YEAR

1815.

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY SYLVESTER T. GOSS,

1819.



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DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT,

District Clerk's Office.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the thirteenth day of September, A. D. 1819, and of the Forty-fourth Year of the Independence of the United States of America, CHARLES L. SARGENT, of the said District, has deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the Right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following, to wit :—" The Life of Alexander Smith, Captain of the Island of Pitcairn, ; one of the mutineers on board his Majesty's ship Bounty ; commanded by Lieut. William Bligh. Written by SMITH himself, on the above Island, and bringing the accounts from Pitcairn, down to the year 1815."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled " An act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned ;" and also to an Act, entitled " An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled, An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned ; and extending the benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving and Etching Historical, and other Prints."

JOHN W. DAVIS, Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

PREFACE.

IN offering the life of ALEXANDER SMITH, to the public, the publisher has nothing more in view, than gratifying still further the interest, already much excited, by the late accounts of captains Folger, Staines, and Pipon, from the Island of Pitcairn. And here it would be best to state explicitly, how it came into the hands of the publisher.

Being called in, as passing a house, in the District of Maine, last winter, to assist the wife, in quieting the rage of her husband, taken in a sudden fit ; the wife, expressed in strong terms, her deplorable and indigent situation, rendered still more so, by the ill health of her husband ; and taking from a chest, a large roll of papers, seemingly much soiled, which she said, her husband had received from a dying Spaniard, on his last voyage to Havana ; she begged as a favor, I

would purchase them, stating her demand at a moderate price.

The story her husband had from the Spaniard was, "that he, the Spaniard, had sailed in a Spanish brig, from Valparaiso, that had made the Island of Pitcairn, on her passage across the Pacific Ocean ; that he was with the boat's crew, that landed on the island, and in an old chest, in one corner of the hut, he éspied these papers. Taking an opportunity, when unperceived, he secreted them in his shirt bosom. On examination, he found them to contain the life of the man, that then acted as chief of the Island. Fearing to expose his theft on board the vessel, he had carefully preserved them, until his arrival at the Havana ; where, being taken sick with the yellow fever, he had bequeathed them to her husband, who was attending him a few hours before his death."

On taking the papers home, though in much disorder, I found enough to interest me very highly ; and I determined the next day, to gain a clearer account of them, if possible, from the husband himself ; but unfortunately, he had expired in one of his fits, during the night.

After giving the woman, what we both thought an ample compensation for the papers, I have endeavored to arrange them in some order : and now offer them to the public, in the precise words of Smith himself.

Some parts are evidently missing—but there is nothing added to, or taken from the original papers.



LIFE.

I WAS born in the town of Gloucester, State of Massachusetts, in the year 1760.— My father followed the trade of blockmaking at that place ; and as soon as I could haul a brick into the garret window from the ground, (he concluded according to the usage of Gloucester) I was strong enough to haul a codfish out of water. My mother next equipped me for a fare to the banks. My clothing consisted of two red baize shirts, two pair of Marblehead velvet breeches, two jackets, several pair of stockings and nippers, all crammed into a cotton and tow bag, at the top of which, I found my mother had placed a sheet of gingerbread and a peck of apples. My father added to these a large pair of boots, a barvel, hooks, lines and leads.

I pass over the events of many fares to the banks, and a trip to the Southern

States, in the winter, to purchase corn, and occasional work in the shop. Not liking this kind of life, I enlisted as a soldier to go to Halifax; there being a king's ship in the harbour beating up for volunteers. I received the bounty and was allowed three days of grace to spend it in, which I industriously employed, visiting all my acquaintance, dancing, &c. We had some difficulty in procuring musick; but when no other could be had, we employed a half crazy man, by the name of Whorley, to whistle for us. It is true, it took much rum to keep his lips moist, but it was the best substitute the place would afford.

We had a rough passage to Halifax.—The day after my arrival, I was dressed in uniform, with a stiff leather collar round my neck, to keep my head up, and placed in charge of an orderly, for drill. I found this very irksome, and not so much to my mind as fishing; and I determined to make my escape the first opportunity. One soon of-

ferred. A vessel from my own town having arrived in a leaky state, I agreed with the captain to take me on board, when he should be ready for sea. He soon gave me notice that he should sail at night. Being off guard at dusk, I went to the water side, stripped all off, leaving my coat and stock on the beech. I swam to the vessel in a state of nature; my townsman the Captain gave me a covering; and getting under way, a fair wind soon carried me out of an orderly's controul; of whom and of a soldier's life I was now heartily tired.

I was allowed wages as the rest of the crew, and continued to do duty before the mast, until our arrival at Bilboa. Here I left the schooner and entered on board an English ship, bound to Bristol, in England, at five pounds sterling the run; feeling a great desire to see more of the world, and the land of my forefathers. Nothing remarkable happened on this passage; and when arrived at Bristol, I received five

pounds and my discharge. This money and a handkerchief of clothes were all my possessions ; and knowing my money would soon go in such a place, I soon shipped on board a small brig, bound to Bombay, in India, with dispatches.

We crossed the equator in forty days from leaving port, and received the customary visit from old Neptune, on entering his territories.

On the first day of February, 1784, we made the Island of Bourbon. Steering northerly, through the range of islands, extending from Madagascar to Ceylon, our captain was induced to anchor under one of these numerous islands, for the purpose of procuring turtle and cocoa nuts, with which they all greatly abound. Being on shore, as one of the boat's crew, I had strolled some distance from the boat, in search of fowls' eggs ; and so eager was I in the pursuit, that I did not hear the sig-

nal for the boat, or heed the alarming appearance of the weather at the time.— Night overtook me in the woods, as I was bewildered, and a violent storm of wind and rain had commenced. I sought shelter in the hollow of an old tree, in the hopes of finding my way to the boat in the morning. Feeling myself very hungry, I ate some of my raw eggs, and washed them down with the milk of a cocoa nut.

My situation during the night was very disagreeable. The elements were agitated with one of those terrible hurricanes, so common in that part of the world. I expected every moment the tree I was in would be blown over, frequently hearing them crack, and fall around me during the night. Add to this my anxiety was very great about the fate of the ship: the gale had increased very much at midnight, so much so, I concluded in my own mind, that it was impossible any anchors could hold in such a gale: and the chance was, if the

vessel had weathered the gale, she must have struck adrift and left me alone on the Island.

Towards daylight the gale began to abate, and I crawled out of my hole, wet, stiff, and much fatigued with my night's quarters. My first act was to climb one of the highest trees, ascertain my fate, if possible, and know the worst. With great difficulty I succeeded in climbing to the branches of the highest tree near me, whence I had a full view of the ocean, on each side of the Island ; but to my unspeakable mortification no vessel was in sight.— Where I was, or what was the name even of the island, I knew not. I observed it was covered with trees of various sorts, but mostly of the cocoa nut ; that it was surrounded by a chain of reefs, on which the sea beat with incredible fury. To despair I knew would not do, and considering myself a second Robinson Crusoe, I descended the tree, with this consolation, that I should

not starve, as I had seen plenty of turtle round the shores, the day before, plenty of wild fowl, and during the night I had heard or fancied I had, the grunting of hogs ; and at daylight the crowing of cocks.

Such, however, is the weakness of human nature, I with difficulty restrained the overflow of my feelings, when I reflected on my solitary and forlorn situation. Something, however, must be done, and I determined in my own mind, to carefully examine the whole of the Island ; and hope deluded me that yet some of my shipmates or the entire boat's crew might be still on shore.

I sat down to breakfast on raw eggs and cocoa nut, and with a determination to meet my fate with the best possible face, I took my course towards the sea shore. My way lay through a thick grove of cocoa nut trees ; the ground was covered many feet by the fall of nuts from the trees ; and as I passed over them, I found every nut inhab-

ited by one or more rats, that came flying about my legs at every step. Arriving at the sea shore, I could see a great extent of horizon, but no vessel or boat to cheer my heart. At the distance of about one quarter of a mile from the shore, appeared to be a coral reef, between which and the shore, the water was perfectly smooth; in which I observed many turtle, and various kinds of fish. The shores were perfectly white, by what at first view seemed sand, but upon close examination, was pulverized shells, made smooth by the frequent motion of the waves. From the direction of the wind during the night, the ship must have drifted to sea; any hope of relief from that quarter was now greatly diminished.

I now began seriously to look about me, and form some plan, as to the course best to be pursued. I had been much astonished in the morning by the crowing of cocks round me, and as these fowls are generally domesticated, perhaps there might be some

inhabitants on the island ; but where I had yet travelled no marks of them had appeared. The whole seemed a perfect wilderness. As my first intention of travelling round the island seemed a good one, I concluded the sooner I set about it the better ; and trusting to a kind Providence, which I had never yet found to fail me, and cutting a walking stick with my jackknife, which I fortunately had in my pocket, I took my course along the northern side of the island, towards the western point, judging myself at this time, nearly in the centre of the two extremes of the island.

I had fortunately on leaving the ship bent a new pair of excellent shoes ; I had on for cloathing, a pair of canvas trowsers, a red baize shirt, blue waistcoat and jacket, and an old tarpaulin hat. These, with my jackknife, and a black silk handkerchief, were all my earthly possessions ; except I took into account a large landed estate of nearly

twelve miles extent, well stocked with quadrupeds and game.

I found no difficulty in walking along the shelly beach before described, keeping my eyes constantly on the stretch in all directions. I found many birds setting on their nests, near the sea shore. They seemed very tame, nor would they move from their nests, except I disturbed them with my stick. They were principally of the oceanic kind, men-of-war, pelicans, tropic birds, boobies, and noddies, either of which I could take at my pleasure. Knowing these fowls were not of the best kind for eating, I was pleased to observe in the branches of the trees, turtle doves, which I promised myself would make a variety to my meals, if I could but make a fire to cook them; but, at present, my mind was wholly taken up in exploring thoroughly my new territory.

After travelling, as near as I could guess, about five miles, I suddenly came to an ope-

ning, destitute of trees, and ascending the rising ground a little, I could plainly perceive the island narrower here, than where I started from, not being more than three quarters of a mile wide. At this place, a few small spots on the elevated ground, seemed to be good soil : but the remainder of this part of the island, to the shores each side, was real sand.

I continued to trudge the beach towards the western end of the island, now not far off, and arriving at the extremity, I observed the reef to extend some miles into the sea, joined by a similar reef, from the southern side of the island to that of the northern side. Setting my face easterly on the weather or southern side of the island, I continued my round. On this side of the island the reef seemed to be farther off shore, than the other side, and the sea beat on it in the most sublime and awful manner imaginable. Coming to a spot where the beach was interrupted by a ledge of

calcareous rocks, extending into the water, I was agreeably surprized to find them covered with what had the appearance of oysters. I opened one with my knife, and to my great joy found it very good and palatable. As by the sun it was high noon, I sat down with my knife and made a hearty meal upon these oysters, with the usual drink of cocoa nut milk. Laying myself soon after under the shade of a tree, I fell into a sound sleep; and when I awoke, felt myself much refreshed, but found by the lowness of the sun, I had taken a long nap. I again resumed my travels, having as yet discovered no indication of inhabitants. A fear now suggested itself to me, that the island might have beasts of prey upon it, as well as hogs, and how I should pass the night, now fast approaching, seemed matter of much excitement to me.

As I approached the eastern end of the island, the shore became abrupt, and formed perpendicular cliffs on the ocean side.

These I was obliged to ascend, and keep my walk many feet elevated above the water. Towards night I discovered a large square hole in one of the cliffs, in which I thought I might shelter myself for the night. I crept into this hole, and found it sufficiently secure for my purpose ; and set myself before dark to pick up as many leaves as I could, and now and then I found a bunch of dry grass, which I conveyed to the hole for my bed during the coming night. I now set myself on thinking how I should contrive a hut, for my accomodation, and where I should pitch it. As I saw no danger of trespassing on the land of another, I conceived at present I had a right to the whole, having given up entirely the hopes of inhabitants or ship mates.

In my voyages to the banks as I had much leisure, I had, with the other fishermen, practised what is with them called *scrimp shonting*, that is making sugar bowls, busks and ladles, with only a knife to work

with, and a bit of dog fish skin to polish the work. Being naturally ingenious, I thought if I could find a good spot for my purpose, I could even with my knife make a shelter to protect me from the heat and rain. It would be uninteresting to give a detail of my reflections at this time ; but being weary, I soon retired to my bed of leaves ; offering up my thanks to God that even in this situation, I had much to comfort me and be thankful for.

I arose with the dawn much refreshed ; and as I had not completed the circuit of the island, I concluded it best to finish it, as I originally intended ; when I could best form a judgment, where to build my house. This end of the island I found much wider than the other, the woods almost impenetrable, the shores bluff and steep ; still the reef continued and projected as at the western end far into the ocean, after uniting with the reef from the southern side. By noon I had completely travelled round the

island, and arrived at the spot, I first started from. Duly weighing in my mind all circumstances, I concluded that the best spot for my hut would be at the opening before described, where I should have a full view of the ocean on both sides, and a good chance of seeing any vessel that passed in sight; that being clear of wood, the air would have a free circulation, and I should be less exposed to wild beasts than in the woods. I accordingly trudged on to the aforesaid opening, near the western end of the island, in hopes to prepare some secure place, for my night's lodging.

On arriving there, I collected some of the long leaves or branches of the cocoa nut, inclining a number towards each other at the top, and spreading them at the bottom like the gable end of a house. A few more spread on the sand within the roof, answered for the present to protect me from the dews and cool of the night. My mind was occupied much this night upon

the best means of kindling a fire ; and as I had heard that the Indians produce it by rubbing two sticks together, I determined to make the attempt in this way on the morrow. If I succeeded I promised myself a hearty meal from a turtle, which I had the good fortune to turn in the evening, as she came on shore to deposit her eggs.

In the morning, when I awoke, the idea suggested itself to me, that I might be confused in the calculation, if I did not keep some record, and knowing it was April fool's day, when I first landed, I cut April 1, 1784 on the most conspicuous tree near me, and placed four stones being April 4th, at the foot of the tree, adding one every day, while I remained on the island, occasionally counting them over and beginning a new record on the tree ; this was of great service to me as will appear in the sequel.

I next set about the fire by collecting a quantity of the driest wood and leaves to

be found ; having selected two of the driest sticks, and stripped off my jacket, I began rubbing one on the other. They soon began to smoke ; but after quite exhausting myself, I left it, quite discouraged. However after taking breath, my pride added to my wants set me to work again. Observing that on the first trial both pieces of wood were alike and hard ; I sought one of a softer nature, and laying one end of the hard stick on the ground, and the other end on my knees as I sat on a stone, I placed the soft stick across the hard one and with a hand on each end, began moving it up and down the hard stick ; to my great joy and delight it soon blazed, and applying a bunch of dry grass, it was immediately on fire, and thence applied to the pile already prepared. My joy was so great, I danced round this bonfire (as I may call it) like a madman, and shed tears of real joy at my success. As I had taken some pains to collect fuel, I had no fears of its expiring for the present.

The distance from the fire to the beach being about one hundred fathoms, I sought out my turtle, which was still lying on its back, but an immense number of rats were feasting on it. They left their feast at my approach, but did not seem to be in much of a hurry, and stopped eying me with very expressive looks, at a little distance. A stone thrown at them, soon hastened their steps into the woods. The turtle was not dead; but a great part of what is called the flippers were consumed by these ravenous creatures. I suppose the weight to have been nearly five hundred pounds. I found many eggs in the body, and about one hundred in a perfect state. Taking as much of the meat as I thought would keep, and a handkerchief full of the eggs, I returned to the fire, and laid the meat on some live coals to broil; and covered up some of the eggs in embers and ashes to roast. With a green cocoa nut, and the milk for drink, I made a very hearty and comfortable meal.

As I had no hatchet to cut wood with, I concluded it would be better to trust to this method of procuring fire, than to endeavour to keep it alive all the time. I however carefully covered it up in ashes and earth, which I ever found to answer my purpose, while on the island, except in heavy rains; and even these could not affect it, under cover of the cook house, I afterwards built. I cooked enough at this time to last me several meals, and tying the meat and eggs up in my handkerchief, I hung the whole on the limb of a tree, as security against what I began to fear would prove my greatest enemies, the rats.

I had as yet tasted no water, nor had I seen any on the island; but being certain of having heard hogs, I concluded they could not live without it, as they had not the facility of gnawing into a nut, like a rat, for its contents. As my roof would serve me for the present, I began my search for this necessary of life; not being altogether

satisfied with cocoa nut milk. I provided myself with a stick, sharpened at the end like a clam digger, and half a nut to scoop the dirt with. Thus equipped I proceeded into the wood, not far distant, as the most likely place to find water. I began digging with my stick and throwing out the dirt with the shell, in a hollow to appearance more moist than any I had as yet observed; first clearing away the loose nuts, which lay very thick on the ground. I soon came to water, but as yet thick with dirt: I sunk the hole as deep as I could, which from the abundant flow of the water, I found very laborious. I next placed sticks perpendicularly round the edges of the well, to prevent the caving in of the earth. The water was left to settle, and always afterwards afforded me a sufficient supply.

At this distance of time, and writing only from recollection, I can only go on, and give the general progress of my labours, as they now occur to me without referring to dates.

I felt the want of tools very much, and a hatchet, in my situation, would have been of more value to me than all the gold in the world. I was now, however, in possession of two essential articles of life, fire and water, and could vary my food enough to satisfy the desire of any reasonable man. Considering a house or hut the next essential thing for my comfort, I set myself diligently about one. Near the edge of the wood, I found four large cocoa nut trees, at the distance of about twelve feet from each other, forming a square. It immediately struck my mind these would answer for the four posts of the house, between which I had only to erect a roof, and take my leisure to cover the sides. If I had possessed an auger, I could easily have framed pieces into the trees; but having (as I said before) nothing but my jackknife this method was impossible. I had learned (as most sailors do) to make a kind of thumb line with my fingers out of rope yarns; it is much used on board of vessels for pointing blocks, and for

seizings: there it is called nettle stuff.— Having heard that the natives of India make ropes and cables of the outer rind of the cocoa nut, I set about making line or cord from this material, in the same manner I had been accustomed to make nettle stuff. As I could not mortice or nail my roof and sides to the trees, sailor-like I was deterred to lash them, knowing however rough it might be, I could make it strong.

To work I went, and found no difficulty in making the cord, and that too of the strongest kind. The first day having my meals to seek and cook, I made but ten fathoms, with all my industry. It was two stranded, quite even and so strong with all my strength I could not break it. Having with great diligence manufactured as much as I thought it possible I should want; I set about my house in earnest. I found a species of wood near at hand, that grew strait and not unlike American alder, being at the root about five inches in circumfer-

ence. Of these I cut enough to form the roof and sides of the house ; but the labour was great, as my knife was none of the best, and I had not a proper stone to sharpen it on. I, however, persevered and backed them to the place of my intended habitation. This labour with my lashings had occupied three weeks, in which time, however, in addition, I had killed several seals of the hair kind, that I had surprised on the shore. Their skins I had carefully preserved, intending them for the roof of my house and for my bed if I could collect enough. The first skin I had pegged to the ground for the purpose of drying it thoroughly, but the rats ate it up the first night. The others I contrived to spread on the branches of a tree not unlike the teak, so famed, as I have since learned, in India, but whose growth was not so large but that I could easily climb it.

I began lashing my alders to the trees, commencing a foot from the ground, so pro-

gressing upwards at about nine inches distance from each other on each side. At the ends I left a small vacancy for doors, and a small square hole each side for a window. This I found no difficulty in accomplishing ; it, however, took more lashing than I was aware of at first ; but the making of it was an amusement to me, when fatigued with other labour. Where the vacancies of the doors were left ; I set up posts in the ground, and secured the ends of the alders to them, as I had to the trees.

It was a bright thought beginning at the bottom, as I could sit on the cross pieces already lashed, and fasten those beyond my reach from the ground. When I had advanced upwards to about nine feet, I cut four larger pieces to support the roof, and at intervals between the trees, I lashed upright pieces to keep the centers from sagging. I had much difficulty in finishing the frame of the roof ; but by perseverance I accomplished it. My next care was to col-

lect the long spreading branches of the cocoa nut tree, and weaving them in and out carefully through the frame, and lashing them securely to the roof; in two months time, I had a good covering, but not perfectly tight in the roof. This I afterwards remedied, by a covering of seal skins, of which in addition to my other occupations, I had collected a considerable store.

My inveterate enemies, the rats, devoured every thing eatable that lay in their way, and were even bold enough to attack my feet while I lay asleep. To guard against them was my next care; not daring to make my bed of skins while they could so readily enter my house. How to guard against the depredations of these creatures, and do it with the least labour, cost me much thinking, but of all the plans that suggested themselves to me, that of digging a ditch entirely round my house, seemed most feasible and practicable. I therefore laid out a square for this purpose, at the dis-

tance of about ten feet from the sides of the house, and began digging, as I had the well, with a flat pointed stick and a cocoa nut shell. I found the work slow but not hard. The soil was thin and rested on a bed of sand and shells. I dug the ditch wide and deep, keeping the sides perpendicular by sticks as I had the well. This task also I finished, and found it to answer the purpose effectually. By lashing a sufficient number of alders together, I formed a kind of bridge, which, by means of four posts, two on each side the ditch, and a string passing through a notch made for that purpose, in the top of the posts, I could raise the bridge on either side, as I passed in or out of my house. I next prepared my bedstead, fixing four posts in the ground, and lashing pieces of wood to them, in the form of a house bedstead. I corded it closely, from side to side, making it sufficiently soft with the cocoa leaf. I then spread a dry skin over the whole, and a spare one for a covering completed the bed

I was generally fatigued enough at night, to sleep soundly in any situation ; but on this excellent bed, it was sound and sweet indeed.

I had made it a rule, since being on the island, not to work on Sundays, but devoted the day entirely to leisure. I had no book to read, and giving thanks to God was all the religion I could practise. As we frail mortals know not what we want most, or what to ask for, and God in his wonderful goodness knowing what we have need of before we ask ; in my addresses to the throne of grace, I confined myself to thanks for his kind providence, and a general prayer, that he would continue to guard and protect me, as he had hitherto done. I generally took a walk over some part of my dominions on this day, and frequently returned with a handkerchief of eggs, which I was now convinced were those of the real barn door fowl.

One day I had the good fortune to surprise a hen on her nest. Having seized

upon her, I was bearing my prize off in triumph towards my house, when I bethought myself of her nest and eggs, which I carefully took up. From one of the eggs, I thought I saw the bill of a chicken, appearing through the shell. I secured my prize in one corner of my house, by some wicker work, hastily formed, and gave the poor creature some chopt cocoa nut and water, which she greedily devoured, and returned to her nest, quite contented, as if no change had taken place. In a few days, I had the satisfaction to see her surrounded by a brood of ten chickens. Judge the many excellent meals of roast and boiled chickens I fancied in store for me, when my stock should be increased.

My clothes had now become quite old, and I set about a covering of seal skins, as the only substitute I could think of for the present. There being now but little of my original baize shirt left, a covering became absolutely necessary for my back, especially as

my flesh would not bear exposure to the sun. I could make a loose robe of seal skins if I had but needle and thread to sew it with, but how to find or invent a substitute for these, cost me much meditation and thinking. I however made me a tolerable good needle or rather bodkin from turtle shell; and knowing this was not strong enough to perforate the skin of itself; by sharpening a hard bone with my knife, I made a punch that answered very well in making holes for the introduction of my bodkin. I was at great pains to prepare the strong sinews of the seal, to answer my purpose as a substitute for thread. The form of my robe was much like a frock or shirt, somewhat loose and reaching below my knees. This without any other garment answered very well. Shoes I needed none, as I had accustomed myself to go bare footed. My hat was heavy, and often made my head ache in the sun. I formed a light umbrella to carry in my hand, and when my occupation required the use of

both hands, I could place the umbrella on my head, by means of the crown of my old hat fastened on the inside of it.

I now built me a cook house at a little distance from my dwelling house, much on the same plan, but neither so large nor so secure, surrounding it with a ditch and fence, within which I let loose my fowls, first cutting their wings to prevent their flying away. My thoughts still run on a hatchet, and other tools, and I saw no possibility of leaving the place but by building a boat or vessel; and this I could not possibly do with a jack-knife only, now much worn, with constant use. I wanted too a pot to boil meat in. A frying pan would have been a very useful thing to me, being tired of broiled meat, which my food principally consisted of. I had some time previously to this, made myself a good bow and arrows, with which I could from practice hit a bird as sure as a musket. I had also caught several hogs, by finding their track to a pond, in nearly the centre

of the island, digging a pit in this track, and slightly covering it over with boughs and leaves. But when I had thus caught them, they appeared so wild and savage, I was afraid to take them out alive, having been severely bitten by one of them in making the attempt. I had however prepared a pen to receive the first one I should take that was small enough to be manageable. I seldom obtained more than one meal from a large hog, being so near the equator, and the weather so warm, it was incredible how soon meat became putrid.

As I had much time for reflection, I sighed often for a companion, notwithstanding my apparently eligible situation ; feeling very sensibly it was not good for man to be alone. I was notwithstanding so well pleased with the place and its productions, that with the addition of a companion I should very contentedly have passed my life there. As man is seldom satisfied with his present situation, I solaced myself often with this conclusion,

that in any and every situation of life, I should, according to the lot of human nature, want something more to make happiness complete.

In one of my musing fits I asked myself how these hogs, fowls and rats, came upon the island? I could readily suppose a ship stopping here, hogs and fowls might have been designedly landed, for the benefit of future visitors; but then how did the rats come on shore? A vessel could not anchor, less than one or two miles from the land, and surely no one would be at the pains, to set these creatures on shore, at the same time they did the hogs and fowls. Neither did it seem very plausible, that one could have landed in the boat. A vessel might have been cast away here, and that would solve the difficulty! This idea took strong hold of my brain, and I have since thought something, other than chance, led me to these reflections, as they were ultimately the means of my quitting the island.

The persuasion that there might have been a wreck, upon or near the island, had now so fully possessed my imagination, that I felt determined to ascertain if any such thing was on the island first ; and if not successful in finding one, to make a raft and explore the reef which surrounded the place. It is true, I had made the circuit of the island, on my first landing, but had not observed any thing of this nature, and as the tide ebbed and flowed several feet, this circumstance might have prevented my seeing such an object. I carefully traversed the southern side of the island, and examined the shores at low water, without success, and almost discouraged. The chance of finding a wreck on the other side of the island, I did not consider very great, but having observed that some heavy gales blew from the north west, there was still a possibility of success.

Here my search did not appear more successful at first, than on the other side ; but

as I was returning home, as I now called my house, from near the western point, my foot accidentally struck against something, sticking up above the shells, so firmly fixed as to throw me over, which I thought strange, as the shells forming the beach were very loose. On examination I found I had tripped over a black piece of square wood; and, clearing away the shells, I could plainly perceive the marks of an axe or adze in the sides of it; but what retained it so firm, as yet had not suggested itself. Determined to know if possible, as I removed the sand and shells, I found other pieces of wood like the first standing in a row, though not so long or so firmly fixed as the first. The idea now struck me that this must be the wreck, which had given me so much thought and anxiety. As night was now advancing, and my home nearly three miles distant, I returned there, determined to examine this apparent wreck more fully on the morrow.

I did not sleep much this night. Many a fairy castle of future liberation, and many plans of great labour to execute, could I but find iron about the wreck, occupied my mind. The fears of disappointment could not be entirely suppressed; they kept my mind in great agitation all night. In the morning I prepared an extra quantity of food and put in a basket (of which I had made me a number of various sizes) to serve me during the day.

I set off for the hulk with mingled emotions of hope and fear.—I ascertained before night, that I had found the keel and floor timbers of a large ship, and by the pigs of iron yet remaining in her bottom she might have been a vessel of war. She was above the usual high water mark, no part of her being within fifty feet of the usual flow of the tide. I concluded that some heavy gale had thrown her high up the beach; and as these islands increase by the formation of coral round their shores,

that time had enlarged the island these fifty feet. The wood of her seemed to be oak, and in a high state of preservation some bolts much corroded by time and water were still visible. I worked diligently some days to clear her inside of sand and shells, musing all the time upon the plan of my vessel, which I had concluded, however desperate the attempt, to undertake; feeling myself most contented when fully employed. If my labour should be lost, it would in the end be productive of much good to me, as having afforded employment for many an otherwise idle hour, and a continual exercise of the mind, as to the manner in which I should accomplish the undertaking.

Having cleared the hull of sand and shells, the result of my knowledge was, that she contained several tiers of pig iron, several bolts of various sizes, and some few spikes. As there was no wood on this end of the island, I concluded it best to burn the hulk and carefully to collect all the iron

for the purpose of removal to my ship yard, when I should have pitched upon a suitable spot for the purpose. Foreseeing I must have ropes, sails, and many other articles, I devoted every evening at the door of my house to the manufactory of cord from the cocoa nut.

In one of my walks, on a leisure day, I found a plant, on the edge of the wood, about six feet high, bearing a cluster of handsome flowers. In breaking off a bunch of these flowers, the rind, or outer covering peeled off the whole length of the stalk. An idea struck me to make trial, by rotting it, as I had seen flax done, if it would not answer the same purpose. I employed next day, cutting up this plant, removing it to a clear spot, and carefully spreading it on the ground. Thus left to rot, I hoped one day to be repaid for my trouble. In burning the wreck I collected a large number of different sized bolts, some few spikes, and two large rudder braces, from the size of which

I judged she must have been a large vessel.

On the north side of the island, I selected a spot, where the teak trees, as I now call them, grew near the sea shore, and opposite to which was an opening in the reef. Making a raft of such wood, as I could find near me, I transported my iron, with one of the best pigs of it to serve me for an anvil, by water to the place I shall in future call my ship yard. Coal, forge, and bellows being next wanted, I set about collecting wood to make charcoal. I had seen the method of making it, the little time I lived in Nova Scotia, and found no difficulty in making a proper pile first, in a conical form, and confining the fire, to produce the effect intended. While this was burning I set about my bellows, and with much labour and industry, I succeeded in forming one, but so uncouth that I could not help laughing at my own work.

As I could not make a board with my knife, I took the flat shells of two large turtles, and making holes all round the edges of them with the point of my knife, and fixing a clapper to the lower shell, I fastened a seal skin properly shaped with a lacing to each shell. A hollow bone, found on the beach, served me for a nose, round one end of which bone, I puckered the skin like the closed mouth of a bag, and seized or tied it firm to the bone. I next fixed the whole firmly on stakes, about one foot from the ground, and a stick with a crotch at the top, driven into the ground by the side of the bellows served to place a lever on to work it. I connected one end of the lever with cord to the upper part of the bellows. By bearing down the other end of the lever, the upper part was lifted, as far as the seal skin would permit. A large flat stone, on the upper shell, served to press out the wind and produce a good blast through the nose. On opening the coal heap, I found sufficient, and that of a good quality, to answer all my purposes.

An accident at this time happened quite unexpected'y, and was a source of great vexation and trial to me. Sitting near the door of my house one evening, making cord very diligently, a cocoa nut fell from one of the trees, forming a corner of my house, directly on my bare foot. At first the pain and shock was so great, I was fearful it had broken all the bones in it. The pain of this wound was very severe; and the part swelled to an enormous size. The handiest and best thing, I could apply, was some fat of a turtle I had by me, wrapping my foot up, in some pieces of my baize shirt. For a long month I could not touch this foot to the ground, the pain of hobbling over the sand, with a miserable crutch I had made, called forth many a heavy groan.

I was not however idle all the time; and when the pain in my foot would permit, I wrought at such kind of work, as I could do sitting. I had been heretofore very anxious to take a live hog, but on reflection it would

only increase my cares, as I could take one any time I wanted to; and having no method of preserving the meat, it seemed almost a sin to kill a hog and make but one meal from it. During my confinement I thought much of my vessel, not yet begun, except in imagination. I had neither compass, quadrant, or book of navigation. The supplying all these deficiencies occupied my mind as fully as it could well bear. The execution of any project when formed was not so difficult, as the previous planning and contriving it in my mind. I had heard or read some where, that iron having been kept a long time in a perpendicular position would acquire polarity, and surely, thought I, some of the bolts attached to the wreck have stood long enough for that purpose. As I had not destroyed the whole of the wreck, I determined to make the attempt, at some future day, of forming a needle from one of the remaining bolts.

How to ascertain the situation of the island, as to latitude and longitude, seemed impossible, as I had no chart or book of declination, whereby to ascertain the latitude, if I should contrive a method of taking the sun's meridian altitude. This however I knew, and upon reflection might apply it to my purpose ; that, when the sun was at its greatest declination, either north or south, the daily variation was very trifling ; that on the 21st day of June, the sun's declination must be nearly $23^{\circ} 28'$ north, and that on or near the 22d day of December, it must have the same declination nearly south : that the sun crossed the equator on or about the 23d day of September, and again near the 20th day of March, at which times it had no declination ; but the daily variation of the declination being at its greatest point, when the sun was at the equator, my calculation would be subject to more error, should I then attempt to find the latitude, than when the sun should be at either of the tropicks, as at this time, a

day one way or the other would not make more than the difference of one mile in the declination. Now, if I could by any means measure the sun's meridian altitude, on either of the before mentioned days, I could come at the latitude of the place with sufficient accuracy. I could recollect also the general position of India, as I had seen it on the charts; with the knowledge beforehand of the latitude of the place, it was a hard case if I could not hit some part of India, which I supposed was not far distant to the north east.

When my foot had grown better, I visited my flax, and found it would answer the purpose intended very well. It wanted however breaking, swindling and cleaning, before I could apply it to any use. I carefully bundled it up, and removed it, after much hobbling (for as yet I was very lame) to my house, where I could work upon it at my leisure. With much beating, shaking, and pulling, I got out about fifty heads, of fine,

long, silky flax, apparently very strong; and of this flax I purposed to make my sails, if I should ever otherwise complete a vessel. Not considering it enough for my purpose, I was at great pains to spread more of the plant, where I had the former. I had not yet tried my forge, the accident to my foot having prevented me. My first care, when my foot would permit, was to climb the trees at the four corners of my house, and cut off the nuts, to prevent a like or worse accident in future; for certainly if one of the nuts had fallen on my head, instead of my foot, it would have killed me.

As the rainy season had set in, I determined to work under cover of the cook house, and here I erected my forge, in the same manner I had unadvisedly done at the ship yard, which was near a mile from the house. In fixing it the second time, a fear suggested itself that the bone nose would burn, if it came in contact with the fire. To remedy this, I perforated a hole through

a rock, with one of my iron bolts ; in one end of this hole, which was nine inches through, I put the nose of the bellows, the other side of the stone coming in contact with the fire, served the double purpose of a back to my forge, and a conductor to the wind. The place for the fire I made even with the hole, making the hearth of flat stones.

For a hammer I took a bolt, with the flattest head I could find, and with the bolt burnt a hole in a piece of wood intended for the handle. After much wedging and lashing, I made it do for the present to commence with. I tried my skill first at a pair of tongs, to handle my work with, such as I had seen blacksmiths use. From the bad fashion of my hammer, it took me much thumping and many heats to accomplish. I found great patience necessary to work at this kind of business ; but the more I laboured the easier it became.

Having finished the tongs, I next made a tolerable good hammer from one of the iron braces; this having a hole already in it for a handle. Of the other brace, availing myself of the hole in that also, I made a tolerable good axe, about six inches broad; and by frequent heating and putting into water, I gave it some considerable degree of hardness. I next fitted it with a good handle, and sharpened it on the best stone I could find. So great was my impatience to make trial of it, I repaired next day to the ship yard, and proved its goodness by cutting down three large trees. As my foot was not strong enough to use much as yet, I laboured most of the time at the blacksmiths' business, and completed (as well as my abilities and materials would permit) tools enough to commence working with. I even made several tolerable augers; but as I saw I never attempted. I made also two rudder braces and pintals, and prepared all the spikes to drive again.

Having no paper to draft a vessel on, I trusted, as sailors call it, to "rule of thumb." The general plan, I had formed in imagination for her, was to have each end very sharp and nearly alike, with great breadth of beam in proportion to her other dimensions. I made a rule graduated to inches, as nearly as I could, and a pair of iron compasses, making use of coal to mark with, as a substitute for chalk, of which I had none. I reasoned that it would be better for me to have a few timbers in the vessel, and those stout, than many small ones; and this method would also save me much labour.

The keel I laid on blocks, the length of which was thirty feet from stem to stern, and erected the posts for the stem and stern nearly perpendicular. I found the teak would split as true as a shingle, and that it lost much of its weight by seasoning. This consideration induced me to employ myself steadily in preparing boards for the covering; also knees, timbers, beams, and

tree-nails as a better way of proceeding, than applying my work to the vessel as I fitted it.

At this kind of labour I was employed a whole year, in addition to my other occupations. During the year too, I had ascertained the latitude of the place to be $7^{\circ} 10'$ south by the following method. I prepared two straight pieces of wood, two feet long, securing an end of each together like a pair of compasses. I next fastened the quarter of a circle graduated to 90° degrees firmly to one leg, passing through a hole adapted to it in the other leg, the whole resembling a cooper's compasses. The leg, to which the quadrant was fast, I secured in a horizontal position on the stump of a tree, by a peg driven through the leg into the stump, on which peg the whole machine could be turned in a horizontal circle. The upper leg I could elevate or depress at pleasure; and the arch or quadrant would shew the number of degrees the upper leg

was elevated. At the outer end of the upper leg, I fixed a piece of wood with a small hole, through which the sun could shine, and a similar piece at the meeting of the two legs of the machine. I could now move the whole horizontally, and one leg perpendicularly. By bringing the sun to shine through the outer hole directly on the other piece of wood, at the junction of the legs, with strict watching and attention, I could ascertain when the sun was stationary, or at its meridian altitude, which the graduated quadrant would show. This I worked as by a common quadrant.

I could devise no possible plan to find out the longitude of the island, but concluded if I should ever be afloat, to steer north east, as near as I could; being the best course in my judgment to hit some part of India. I had succeeded too in making a rude kind of compass, one however that served me well to steer by when on my passage. I wrought a small needle from a

bolt I found in a proper position in the wreck, and fitted it on a point prepared in a box for the purpose, cutting the different points of the compass, such as north, south, east, west, and so on, in the bottom of the box, and placing the pivot for the needle in the center. This also cost much labour, as I found from experience, that heat destroyed its polarity. The second one I made with a cold chizel from cold iron and found it succeed.

I had also increased my flax, as I found I should be obliged to caulk my vessel with it, having no other oakum. I was as yet much at a loss what I should substitute for pitch, to pay the seams of the vessel with; and this occasioned me much uneasiness and thought. I had manufactured several yards of cloth for my sails, and experienced no fear on this score of equipment. I shall here attempt a description of my manner of making it.

Having prepared my flax, as clear as I could, I next made a windmill, with arms of about two feet, fixing the mill in a frame to turn on its axis, and the frame so fixed as to turn horizontally at pleasure. With a small hook fixed directly on one end of the axis of the mill, and a good breeze, I had turn enough to spin my thread by walking backwards as ropemakers do with the hemp round my waist. I drove sticks into the ground at proper intervals with a horizontal branch, on which to lay the threads when spun, answering to the stake heads in a ropewalk. When I had spun the yarn as long as I intended, I stopped the mill by a string connected with it in such a manner, as to turn the arms of the mill edge-ways to the wind. When I had spun a sufficient number of yarns to form the warp and tied them by, I wound more thread on sticks about one foot long to answer for the filling.

I wove my cloth in much the same way I had been accustomed to weave mats on

board a vessel. Having fixed a number of pieces of wood in a frame, side by side, about one quarter of an inch asunder, and a hole in the center of each piece, I rove my filling alternately, one thread in a hole, and another between the sticks of the frame. By moving the web up and down, I could introduce the filling at pleasure, beating it home with a wooden sword, made straight. My cloth was not more than twelve inches wide, but of a texture fine and firm enough for sail cloth.

By means of this mill I was enabled to lay up some of my cocoa nut cord, into very good ropes of different sizes. The keel, stem, and stern post of the vessel had laid on the blocks, for nearly a year. Having prepared most of the materials necessary for her completion, I set myself diligently to work upon her. In setting up my frames I gave the vessel ten feet beam and five feet hold. I saved much labour by making her sharp at both ends as my planking

wanted but little bending. It would be tedious to give a detail of every piece added to the vessel; at the end of a year more, in addition to the one I had taken to prepare the materials, I saw her so far completed, as to have the decks laid, and nearly finished, with the exception of caulking, which I deferred as long as I could, that the wood might sufficiently season, and until I had devised some plan to cover the seams when caulked.

In building her, I had generally secured the planking with treenails; but where more strength was wanted, I used a bolt or spike; and now if I could but make her tight, I felt certain she was the strongest thing that ever was built. I had determined to rig her exactly like the fishing boats of my native town, with two masts and two boom sails only, and to lead the halyards and sheets all aft, that I might tend the sails without going forward or quitting the helm. I made but one scuttle or hatchway,

and that abaft the main mast, in which I could stand to steer, if I chose, and round this scuttle I fixed a seal skin that I could fasten round my waist in rainy weather, or in case of a rough sea, would prevent the water from going below. Not being able to make a proper hole in a log for a pump, I contrived a substitute, that I could raise a great quantity of water with in a short time, and I think it answered my purpose better than a pump.

I made a well room, a little forward of the hatchway, and just abaft the mainmast, nine inches square, and rising one foot above the deck, with a tight cover to keep the water out, when not in use as a pump. To the inside of this, I fitted a square bucket twelve inches deep, with a valve or clapper in the bottom ; by lowering the bucket down the well room, the clapper rose and the bucket filled with water ; as I drew it up the clapper closed and left the bucket more or less full according to the quantity of water in

the well, and setting it on a short pin fitted in the deck for the purpose, the clapper was raised and the water discharged from the bucket. By means of a single block, fast to the end of a six foot standard, and a rope through the same, fastened to the bucket, served for a "whip" which enabled me at all times with no great exertion to keep the vessel free of water.

I traversed the woods three days to find some tree that produced a resinous substance, but in this I did not succeed. I next collected a quantity of shells and burning them thoroughly, I reduced them to a fine powder, and mixing the fat or oil of turtle (of which I had plenty) with this powder and some hair from the seal, I made a kind of mortar or putty, which I found upon trial grew hard, even under water; and making a small trowel at the forge, and a set of caulking irons, I commenced caulking the vessel. I bestowed great pains on the bottom, knowing a leak there would prove

more fatal in its consequences, than even a larger leak above water ; and by great labour I succeeded in making her perfectly tight all over. I next made some blocks for the haulyards, and sheets to lead through, and although I had not the proper materials, or tools, for the manufactory of them, I succeeded very well, having worked some at this trade in my father's shop. I fitted the masts with shrouds, and stays, and with a tackle, sheers and spanish windlass, I stepped them with the vessel still on the stocks.

I had much to do yet, before I should be ready to embark myself once more on the ocean, my sails to make, booms to fit for the sails, a substitute for an anchor, which however I did not contemplate to use at this time, as I had determined to prepare my vessel, stores and loading on the stocks, and launch myself in her. I had reserved for my sea stores a goodly number of fowls and several cages of turtle doves. I some-

times thought of making salt by evaproat-
 tion; but then in this warm climate, even
 salt would not preserve meat. I hit upon
 an excellent expedient to supply the defic-
 iency of water casks; by taking out the eye
 of a hard cocoa nut, I loosened the meat
 on the inside with a small iron, I made for
 the purpose, and when the nut was per-
 fectly clear of meat, it served as a good bot-
 tle to hold water, only wanting a plug or
 cork at the hole. With much labour I
 prepared one hundred nuts in this way
 and filled them with water for my sea
 store.

I made several basket work coops for the
 fowls, and prepared a suitable place under
 deck for the reception of live turtle. The
 water within the reef contained many fish,
 of various sizes and kinds, any of which I
 could take at pleasure with either a hook
 and line, or a dip-net, I had made for the
 purpose. The kind that seemed most plen-
 ty, somewhat resembled a sardina. I made

several attempts to cure some of these fish for my sea stores, by drying and smoking, but in this I was not successful. I laboured hard to be ready to sail the coming fair season, when the wind would change to the south east; having observed since being on the island, that the wind divided the year in the points it blew from; one half the year blowing from the north west and the other half from south east. I had long before this made me a frying pan, and with much labour beat out a pot from a pig of iron, in which I could boil water. To enable me to make use of these useful articles in cookery, I made me a small portable camboose, that I could upon occasison use on deck, or in the hold of the vessel.

As soon as the fair weather had steadily set in, I began loading the vessel, collecting first a large number of green cocoa nuts to serve me for food and drink. I floored the vessel several tier deep with them. On these I stowed my bottles of water. Abaft

the hatchway I secured my coops of fowls and doves. I had turned thirty small turtle of about fifty pounds each, knowing I had better have a number of small ones, than a few large ones. I took them on board in the place prepared for them. I also put on board a considerable quantity of a root, I had at first observed the hogs to eat, and which for a long time past, I had eaten as bread. This root is what I have since learned is found in such high perfection at the Sandwich islands, and called Taro by the natives. I made me a wooden anchor, being two stout pieces of wood, fixed crossways to one another, and four other pieces of wood, connected together at one end, and spread at the other, to the four arms of the cross, a long stone being secured by these last pieces in the space within. This I knew would hold me in a common time, and was the best substitute I could devise.

I had cloth enough left from my sails to make a couple of shirts, and trowsers, to

which I added another robe of seal skins, to cover all and serve me for a great coat. Of my black silk handkerchief I made a striped jack, forming the stripes of feathers, red and white, sewed on each side; when the breeze was strong enough to blow it out, it made a handsome appearance. I carried all my tools on board, not knowing but I might be cast away, in navigating a sea, I was totally unacquainted with. I was at some pains to cut on a board, I left in the house, my name, the time of my arrival on the island, and the time of my departure. The ways had been prepared for launching a long time. On the first of July, 1788, being all ready, I new greased the ways and knocked away all the blocks, having first taken a turn, with the end of the cable, to a tree and back to the foremast well hauled taught, to prevent her going off without me, and being the last act on the island, I fell on my knees, and returned thanks to God for his great care and protection of me thus far, submitting myself, as I had ever done, to his future guidance and care.

Being now on board, I cast off the end of the cable from the foremast and hauled it on board from round the tree by the other part, still she did not move, but running aft the agitation started her and I had the pleasure of seeing her soon fairly afloat. As she began to move, I broke a cocoa nut against her bows, and christened her the **EFFORT**; and when afloat, I hoisted the foresail, wore round through the opening in the reef and soon found myself in clear water and leaving the island fast.

I had been on this place four years and two months, and have been more particular in relating the incidents that occurred, or rather my occupation there, as it carries with it a good moral, and some instruction. The moral part teaches us not to despair in any situation; that, when we can do it, we ought to help ourselves, and not trust too much to others; that there is scarcely any thing but may be accomplished by diligence and perseverance. The instructive

part will show the complete possibility of building a comfortable house with so simple a tool as a jackknife ; that with no other addition than a few iron bolts a vessel was built that proved in the end to answer every purpose she was intended for. This was not, however, accomplished without great labour, close application, and intense thought. I give much of the credit due my labours on this island to my parents, who early in life inculcated in my mind the invaluable worth of time, laying it down as a fixed principle that time should be fully employed in some useful occupation, especially in youth ; allowing, however, sufficient time for recreation to the mind and body, that they may return with fresh vigour to employment.

Having written the foregoing from memory only, I know I must have omitted many things, that might be instructive and entertaining. A fact now occurs to me, that should have been related at the time of the

occurrence. I was much puzzled for a stone to sharpen my knife upon; and whenever I wanted any thing, my thoughts were so bent upon the thing itself or a substitute, I could seldom rest. Musing one night I recollected during my childhood having observed my father honing his razor on what I thought a very curious looking stone, and asking him where it came from, or what it was made of? he told me it was petrified wood; that by keeping a certain kind of it under water, and continuing it there a long time, it became as hard as stone; and that the hone he held in his hand had once been part of a growing tree. Recollecting this circumstance, I repaired to the pond in the center of the island, and found hones enough to sharpen my tools upon.

To return, I had a fresh breeze, and clear weather, wind south, south east, steering as near as I could, north east, with both sails set. I was gratified to find my vessel stiff, and as tight as I could expect a new one to

be. At sun down I had fairly run the island out of sight, and at eight o'clock having run as far a head as I could see before night, I handed the mainsail, and laid too under a double reefed foresail for the night, headed to the eastward. I took this time to prepare my supper, and breakfast for the next day, as I could not well leave the helm for this purpose in the day time. Making a hearty meal, I turned in below, leaving the Effort to look out for herself, often during the night looking up to see how the weather was, feeling now quite secure on the vessel's account, but many fears as to the navigation part, as I had no means of keeping her run, which if I had they would have been of no use to me, not knowing the point I started from.

Knowing there were many islands and shoals in this part of the world, I was fearful of running in the dark; but as soon as daylight appeared, I made all sail, and took my station at the helm, having first fed and

watered my stock. The wind continued a good breeze, and clear weather all the day. I was fearful, if I stood too far east, of falling in with the Maldivé or Lockadive Islands; and not caring to trust myself among the savages, if I could help it, I concluded to steer a little to the northward, of north east, to counteract the easting, I made in the night. The Effort being a fast sailer, she ranged ahead faster in the night, than I wished, during the time of lying too, and this to the eastward. I had run by guess about sixty miles, the first day, and this the second day, about ninety miles.

My recollection will not serve me at this time to give a regular journal of the passage, but as I drew near the line, the weather became squally; at times calm, attended with much rain. My vessel however, was perfectly tight, but I had to use great caution in tending my sails, lowering them at every appearance of a squall, knowing, if I lost them, I should be in a deplorable situation.

I varied my diet, as inclination or convenience dictated; sometimes a broiled fowl and taro, and sometimes turtle; using my nuts freely, until I found some of my old friends the rats, had chosen to embark with me on this expedition; when I restricted myself somewhat in the use of them. I could well have dispensed with such kind of passengers, but was strongly in hopes their numbers were not very great.

After being at sea twelve days, the wind began to hang often in the southwest, which encouraged me to hope I had crossed the line; and one night, the weather being very clear, to my great joy, I could see the north star, about four degrees above the horizon; and this proved to be a good mark for me to ascertain the latitude by. The weather had now become settled, and the wind steady at southwest. My course being still northeast, of consequence the wind was aft, and the position of my sails, wing and wing, as the fisherman's term is. After having been

at sea without any material accident, twenty days, I concluded from the north star, that I must be nearly in the latitude of nine degrees north. I ascertained this with my quadrant, as well as I could, keeping one leg of the quadrant pointed to the horizon, and the upper leg to the star, the latitude was found on the graduated arch; and taking the mean of three such observations, taken at night, twelve, and four o'clock, gave me the above latitude.

Having heard of an eight or nine degree channel, between the Lockadive and Maldivé Islands, I determined to steer east, and get through this channel, if I could hit it. The next day I saw indications of land, such as weeds, bamboos, and cocoa nuts on the water. At noon, I saw a snake, and now I became much agitated; but hoping to make the land before night; which I did, to my great joy, about the middle of the afternoon, on my weather bow, and to appearance, an island, three leagues distant. At sun down,

it was fairly abeam, and no other land in sight. I brought to as soon as it was dark, intending to keep my present position, if I could, until morning, which I did, by standing part of the night on one tack, and part on the other ; and at daylight the same island was in sight, and on the same point of bearing. I was now in hopes I had fairly hit the channel, and congratulated myself much on my success, not however taking the merit of it to myself, but attributing it to a kind Providence, that had shewn me such special marks of protection and kindness.

I now thought I might steer a little northerly of east, expecting to fall in with the main land. After two days good run from the before mentioned island, I made the Continent. I judged the time of day to be near meridian, when I first discovered the land, the wind blowing very hard, and far to the southward, my vessel under double reefed foresail only. I had no fears of standing boldly in to explore the coast, as the

wind blew in some measure along the shore, and my vessel would lie to, like a gull on the water, and hold her own, under any sail. With these advantages, I could at any time lay off and on again. As I approached the shore, I discovered a little to leeward, of me, a cluster of trees, and a flag hoisted on a high tower. I edged away towards the flag, being very strongly agitated, exerting my resolution much, to calm this feeling, and keep myself cool.

I soon discovered a fort near the water, and to appearance, the mouth of a small river. Fortunately, just ahead of me, was a doney, or boat of the country, by her steering, bound into the river. I kept in the wake of this boat, until I dropped anchor, about sundown, near a large handsome town, perfectly secure from the heavy gale, that was blowing without. I set my flag, as I passed the fort, when they hailed me in a language I did not understand; and being under quick way, I had no time to answer.

Several natives came on board, after I had anchored, and gazed upon me with apparent fear, surprize and curiosity ; but letting them know I was English, and motioning them away, they left me for the night.

I concluded to stay on board the boat this night, as I had been much fatigued in body, some days past, and violently agitated in feelings, in hopes by some repose in this secure situation to refresh myself, for the adventures of the ensuing day. When the natives had left me, and taking such a supper as the Effort afforded, I turned in ; and after much tossing and turning, nature relieved me with a sound and refreshing sleep. I was waked in the morning, by the noise of feet over my head, and starting suddenly upon deck, I found my vessel surrounded with boats, and the deck covered with men. One man accosted me in English, to know where I was from, to what nation belonging, and where bound ; informing me, that he was an officer sent on board to make these inquiries,

and to demand my papers. As I could have no motive in deviating from the truth, I requested him to clear my vessel of the natives, and place a proper guard on board, for the security of my property, when I would accompany him on shore to the Governor, and give him as clear an account of myself, as I was able.

He seemed satisfied with this proposal, and immediately gave proof of his authority by driving all the natives out of the vessel, and leaving two of his boat's crew to take care of her. I embarked for the shore in a boat with this officer, who told me the place was called Cochin, and then in possession of the Dutch. On my arrival before the governor I was pleased he could speak English, and we could converse without an interpreter. He seemed much astonished at my appearance, and his curiosity had been much excited the night before, by the accounts he had heard—of a strange rigged vessel having arrived, with but one

person in her. And now I told my story in the plain unadorned garb of truth, the governor seemed truly astonished; nor could he bring himself to believe it possible, one man had performed what I had related. I answered him I was ready to prove from the vessel and her equipment, the entire possibility of what I had related. After asking a great many questions, he observed I must want some refreshment, and when I had breakfasted he would himself examine into the correctness of my story.

He ordered me a breakfast served in the next room, at which I ate very hearty, not having tasted bread before for more than four years. The coffee was a great luxury and quite exhilarated my spirits. I requested the governor to furnish me with the means of procuring some clothes more suitable to appear in his presence, than those I had on, which he readily granted. I had no occasion for a barber, as I had been in the practice of pulling out my beard; but a white

shirt, jacket, and trowsers, with a straw hat, made quite a different figure of me. When thus equipped, the governor and some of his attendants repaired with me on board the *Effort*, where I completely satisfied him of the truth of my relation. He offered to purchase the vessel and her contents, as she then stood, and to give me twenty five hundred rupees for her; observing, that he wanted such a vessel to coast along shore. I accepted this offer, not without many regrets at parting with a work, I had become extremely attached to, and much hesitation, taking one day to consider of it.

I was so unwilling to part with her, that I even conceived the idea of returning to my native town, and following the business of fishing in her; but it was not here as on the island; every thing had an owner, and I had no money to equip her for such a voyage or credit to acquire it. The governor paid me the money, and I delivered her with tears of regret. He permitted me to

reserve some articles from her, as memorials of my labour. The bellows and tools he had deposited, in his own house, as objects of curiosity. I hired a small house, and furnished it, not having determined in my own mind what course next to pursue.

* * * * *

Here there is a deficiency in the journal and no clue to connect the narrative. I must therefore continue it in the order the documents will permit.

I now found myself, once more afloat, bound round Cape Horn for the double purpose of sealing, and trading for skins, on the north west coast of America. I had shipped as an able seaman, and it was optional with the captain to employ me in sealing; and when thus occupied, I had agreed for a full share of the skins we should take, as my pay; or to employ me in the trade on the coast, in which latter case, I was to receive fifteen dollars per month as my pay. My inducement to ship,

on this voyage, was a strong propensity I had to visit and explore unfrequented and desolate islands; having been somewhat disappointed in my intercourse with the world, from which I promised myself so much happiness, while on a solitary island, I was at so much pains to quit, and of which I have given such a minute account. And often have I regretted quitting a place, where if not happy, I am certain I enjoyed in the aggregate full as much happiness, and even more than I have ever done in society.

I shall forbear a minute description of the many places we visited in search of seal, as we have, among the books preserved from the *Bounty*, a Gazetteer, several books of Geography, many voyages and travels, to which I refer my readers, as containing a better description of the known parts of the world, than I can be expected to give. Our vessel was about two hundred and fifty tons burthen, well equipped with

every necessary for such an undertaking. Soon after being at sea, the captain designated ten sailors for the trading part of the voyage, and eighteen to be employed in two gangs, of nine each, in taking seal, for their skins only. The captain gave me charge of one gang, with orders to have our whale boat, and tackle ready for service at any call. This charge was quite unlooked for by me, and unexpected; the captain paying me the compliment of saying, he had heard so good a character of me before sailing, he felt perfect confidence in my abilities to undertake the charge, and my aversion from all ardent spirit, he observed, was a great thing in my favor.

We continued our course towards the Falkland islands, as a likely place to find seal, without any accident, except those occasional misunderstandings and discontents, that almost always happen, when a number of men are confined together so long, and not fully employed, which I am

convinced tends more towards harmony and content than idleness ; it being a true maxim that "if a man will not set himself to work the devil will." We were not fortunate enough to find any seals on these islands, some one having been here before us ; or it was not the season for their coming on shore. We procured a few hogs on these islands, and prepared ourselves for the passage, so much dreaded, round Cape Horn, by making every thing as snug and handy as possible. We encountered some very heavy gales, but rounded the cape without any material accident. One of the sealing gangs were landed on the island of Massafuero ; and the one I had charge of landed on the island, or rather rock, of St. Felix, with a shed, stores, and all the materials necessary for a four or even six months' residence.

The vessel left us and proceeded for the islands of Marquesis, with the intention of setting up the frame and finishing a small

vessel, on board, designed for trading on the north west coast for sea otter skins. After erecting our hut, and making it as comfortable as possible, we set about preparing for the ensuing warfare with the seals. We had a good whale boat, and every thing necessary to repair her, in case of accident from the heavy surf, at all times rolling on the rock. Each one prepared with a knife, and a good bludgeon to knock the seals on the head; we rowed cautiously along the shore, carefully examining every place where it was possible for a seal or ourselves to land. On the discovery of any number on shore, we generally landed as silently as possible, that we might be enabled, as the phrase is, "to get under them," that is between them and the shore. The seals finding their retreat cut off from the water, they made as much speed inland as their fat carcasses would permit; and when we considered it far enough for our purpose, we entered amongst them with our weapons of death, taking care to hit them in a particular spot

on the head, in which if we succeeded, death was the immediate consequence; but failing to hit them in this particular spot, their heads would instantly swell up to a great size, and no beating after this would have any effect.

We next skinned what we had slain, and transported the skins to our residence, when our next care was to beam them, laying them on a semicircular block of wood, and with a particular kind of knife, called a beaming knife, such as curriers and tanners use, we cut off all the fat and fleshy parts, adhering to the skins, and pegged them to the ground, leaving them until they were perfectly dry; in which state they were fit for shipping and a market. The seals go on shore for the purpose of bringing forth, and taking care of their young, and seldom at any other time; leaving the island when their young are able to swim, and provide for themselves. Sealers divide them into three classes, pups, counsellors, and whigs.

The counsellors are always esteemed the best, and of course are selected, when their numbers will permit. The whigs are old; their colour of a silver grey. When several thousands of old and young are lying on the shore, it is truly astonishing to see how readily each mother will recognize her own, in the multitude that to my eyes had no possible mark to distinguish them.

We collected, in two months, fifteen thousand prime skins; and returning one night with a heavy boat load of green skins, to our usual place of landing, the surf had increased to an alarming degree, so much so, that I proposed to heave our cargo over to lighten the boat. But being over persuaded by my shipmates, I made the attempt to land. A heavy surf capsized the boat completely stern over head. As I was standing up steering the boat, I threw myself on one side clear of her, but my companions were swallowed in the

waves, and covered with the boat, which must have been the means of drowning them ; for I knew them to be expert swimmers, and I found no great difficulty myself in reaching the shore. The reaction of the waves must have carried off the boat, and with it the bodies of my unfortunate shipmates, as I never saw either of them afterwards.

We had left one man at the house to prepare our food and take care of the skins. I groped my way to him in the dark, and related the dismal tale. This loss made a deep impression on my mind. But one moment before we were in high glee at our success, and the next seven poor souls taken off in a twinkling. They were all men of good character, and I had lived in great harmony and good fellowship with them, ever since the captain had placed them under my charge. We had been industrious and successful, and had made frequent calculations what a noble voyage we

should make, if the other gang were equally successful with ourselves. Every one hundred and fiftieth skin taken was considered a full share; and each of these men were allowed one share; and estimating each seal to be worth two dollars in Canton, they had earned in these two months, near two hundred dollars. My share was increased by the captain, when he gave me charge of the gang, from every one hundred and fiftieth skin, to every one hundred and thirty fifth.

Here, however, was an end of our visions of gain, and an end of employment ; as without a boat, we could take no seal, and even with one, we two could not manage her in the heavy surf, at all times heaving ashore. My feelings were much more wrought up with grief and disappointment, than they ever were at my situation, when left on the island of cocoa nuts. It is true we wanted not for bread, fish, fowl, or meat ; but then we were on a desolate hideous rock, whose

sides formed in places immense barriers of perpendicular and extensive rock; the little openings in the cliffs, where the seals effected a landing, were rendered hideous by immense precipices that threatened destruction to every thing below: neither shrub, bush, nor grass had we seen on any part of the island, being one huge rock, on which the waves beat with a fury accelerated by the great distance they had to roll, before they were interrupted by this rough and permanent obstruction. The summit of this rock I had never ascended; but it must be several hundred feet from the water; and thus placed by divine providence, that the harmless animals, rapacious man has waged so cruel a war with, might have a resting place.

My companion mused a long time in silence at the relation of our misfortune. Though rugged and rough to appearance, he was a man of strong feeling, and many a tear of unfeigned sorrow we shed at the

loss of our shipmates. Little was said and nothing eaten this night. On the morning, I proposed going to the landing to view the scene of our misfortune.

G. It is a satisfaction, Alek, that these poor fellows have left neither wives nor children to lament their loss.

S. Yes, but they had parents and relatives to whom they were dear.

G. That is true, but to such the loss will not be of so much consequence : but why did not you exert your authority and insist upon heaving the skins out of the boat ?

S. It is evident now I ought to have done it ; their time was come, and grief or complaining will not bring them back.

G. I trust they have better quarters where they are gone, than they would have had here.

S. No doubt they have ; for God surely would not create children, to make them miserable, if he has the power to make them happy.

G. Well ! he certainly has the power ; and as a Father, no doubt the will ; but what are we now to set ourselves about ?

S. We must employ ourselves in taking good care of the seal skins we have collected, and as the seals sometimes come on shore at the landing, near our hut, we can still be adding to our stock.

We remained on this rock four months, when the ship to our great joy came to take us off. They had built and dispatched a small schooner to the north west coast, under the command of the third officer, with four men for the crew, to commence a trade for otter skins, with the natives. The ship had on board the seal skins taken by the gang at Massafuero, amounting to twenty five hundred, intending on stopping here, only to take the skins we had collected, and leave us until the ship had been to the north west coast ; but finding our numbers so reduced, every thing was taken on board, and we left the island for the north west coast.

On this passage we were put upon short allowance of every thing. The captain and officers had become soured and morose ; and the case was very evident, we had lived too long together, and were heartily tired of the voyage, and each other. On arriving at Port Cox, on the north west coast, I left the ship with the captain's permission, first relinquishing all share of my past labours to him, as the price of his consent. He gave me, however, a cask of bread, one of beef, and some trifling small stores. My reasons, for quitting the vessel, were the constant jarring of men and officers, and the entire departure of the captain from the terms of allowance, he had agreed to give, at the commencement of the voyage : and sooner than live in hot water continually, with such a quarrelsome and disaffected set, I preferred taking my chance onshore among savages.

I had secured the protection of a powerful chief, at this place, named Wiccaninish, having in partnership with an Englishman

on shore, in much the same situation as myself, made an agreement with the chief to enlarge a long boat which he had purchased of some ship on the coast. This chief was very kind to us, and ordered a hut built for each of us, near his own, interdicting the natives from entering within the pale of our dwellings. We were to have twenty sea-otter skins each, by agreement, when the work of enlarging the boat, should be completed ; the chief finding all the materials, and men to assist, as we should want them. The season was too far advanced to think of finishing her until the next spring. My partner, (as I shall now call him) and myself employed ourselves in preparing stores for the coming winter. We had each two good muskets, and plenty of ammunition. We purchased with some otter skins, we had taken ourselves, some bread and other stores of a vessel lying in the harbour. We were at all times admitted into the dwelling of the chief, with whom my partner had much conversation, he speaking the language well enough to make himself understood.

In conversation with the chief, one evening, my partner asked him his motive for enlarging the boat we were engaged upon. His reply was, that all the land was to be covered with water, next year, and every person, not afloat, would be drowned by a great flood. He was asked if any thing of the kind had ever taken place before. He answered yes, but not since his day ; some long, long time past, a flock of large birds, he said, had taken each a whale in his bill, and ascending very high in the air with them, they let them fall in the water, when the waves became so great, as to overflow the land ! My partner and I had much conversation on this singular account. It was evident the natives had some confused notions of a deluge ; and the story of the chief explained an enigma to us, we could never before find out. We had often observed on the hats of the natives, a rude figure of a bird, with a very large whale in his bill, painted on the crown ; and such of the natives as we applied to, could give us no satisfactory explana-

tion of the mystery. It would seem from the story of the chief, and the painting on the hats, that the tradition of there having been a flood was not unknown to them ; but upon what grounds he expected another deluge, we could not of ourselves divine.

At our next meeting with the chief, my friend asked him the question, how he knew there was to be such another overflow of water as he had described. He replied, that he had many prophets in his dominions, and one within a few miles, in whom he placed great confidence ; for he had never known him to prophecy wrong. Many incredible stories were now related of this man's power. He had frequently foretold weeks beforehand, that a whale would be cast on shore in a certain place, in consequence of which the whole tribe had broken up their tents, and removed to feast on his carcass ; and that these predictions were very frequent, and never proved false.

This man it seems had predicted the coming deluge, and advised the chief to build the vessel, as the only means of saving himself and family. My friend and I passed a very tough winter. We depended upon our guns for support. They sometimes procured us abundance, and at others the reverse.

We learned in the course of the winter, that the vessel, dispatched from the Marquesas here to trade, had been cut off in the dominions of our own chief. I was confirmed in the truth of the report by some articles I had recognized in the house of Wiccaninish, as having belonged to the vessel I had left. On asking the chief how he came by them, he answered that "he had purchased them of a neighbouring tribe." I however saw guilt in his face, but durst not expose my knowledge and proofs of his treachery.

My friend proposed, as a just retaliation upon him for this act of treachery, to build

the vessel of such construction as would enable us to cross the ocean in her, and when finished to run away with her. I believe I should never have listened to such a scheme, if I had not felt an uncommon degree of exasperation, that this vessel should have been cut off, and so many of my former shipmates massacred. I consented to it willingly, and we passed much time during the winter, in devising the best means to execute our design.

We had cut the long boat in two, and separated the parts some feet, to be filled up by our labours, and her timbers were to be raised to give her sufficient depth. As soon as the weather would permit, we set about the vessel with somewhat different views, from those we had on commencing with her. We prevailed upon the chief, to prepare himself with provisions, and water, for at least three, or even four months, as it was probable the deluge would continue some time; and by relinquishing our

pay for the labour, he consented to take us both on board, during the flood. We had the vessel well prepared for our views, and the chief brought on board one hundred and fifty otter skins, being perhaps his whole property. On the night we intended running away, the chief unexpectedly came on board. He appeared very uneasy, frequently going below and returning on deck. He asked if it was not our usual time of going to sleep (having for some time taken up our quarters on board.) We answered "yes," but out of respect to our visitor we could not think of it. As he seemed to desire it, to prevent suspicion we retired below leaving him on deck. We soon after heard some bustle above, and when from its ceasing we supposed our guest had gone, we again ventured on deck; but to our utter astonishment, the sails were unbent and carried away, together with the vessel's tiller.

There was no running away for us this night, but we were not discouraged, feeling

pretty sure with all his cunning that we should yet be a match for him. The next day he came on board and seemed to exult greatly in his last night's proof of sagacity. We affected not to understand his drift, and asked him why he had unbent and taken away the sails. He now told us, that just before night the prophet had sent a messenger to him, in great haste, to tell him the Englishmen intended running away with the vessel that same night; and as the best way to prevent us, he had unbent the sails and taken them away. Now whether Wiccaninish fabricated this story, to cloak his own suspicions, and inspire us with a high idea of his prophet; or whether the prophet himself had seen or heard any thing to make him suspect us, I know not. This I know; we were blown up for that time.

A great number of natives, in their large or war canoes, had been collecting for several days. These we found were to be his.

guard, and suspected he was going upon some warlike expedition.

When they were all assembled, the chief came on board with the sails, tiller, and four natives, intimating that he was going upon an expedition to the northward, and we must get the schooner under way. The breeze was fresh and fair. The motion of the vessel, so different from a canoe, made the chief sea-sick. We brought to, and put him on board his own canoe, leaving the four natives on board the schooner to watch us; not suspecting we could or would attempt any thing, at such fearful odds. In this, however, he mistook his men.

The wind increasing, we soon left the canoes astern; "and now," says my friend, who was at the helm, "I think with our muskets we could drive these fellows over board." I went below, observing it was now "neck or nothing with us and no crip-

ples." Taking with me two loaded muskets, I returned on deck, and gave one to my friend, at the same time ordering the Indians overboard; knowing them to be good swimmers, and that they could be picked up by the canoes astern. Seeing us resolute, and death impending, they left us with a jump, without waiting for a second bidding. We now hoisted the mainsail and, with the aid of a good stiff breeze, soon bid adieu and a lasting one to Wiccanish.

The breeze continued strong and weather clear, and before night the land was out of sight, and we steering south west. And now my friend and I held a consultation, as to the best possible course to be pursued. We were decidedly of opinion to quit the coast and this part of the world, as the season was growing late and the weather already tempestuous; to steer southerly and gain the general trade wind; thence attempt a passage to some civilized part of India.

My friend had been an officer on board an English vessel, which he quitted on some falling out with the captain; and since we had been together, we had lived in great harmony. He was a man of much intelligence, an able navigator, of undoubted courage, and a great flow of spirits. We divided the labour between us, as equally as we could, taking watch and watch, and running in the night, as well as in the day.

The navigating part I submitted entirely to him. He had a quadrant, books, and some charts with him. I had taken the precaution always to carry in my pocket, since my disaster at cocoa nut island, a small compass; and by this compass we directed our course on the ocean. On taking a survey of our stores we found abundance of every thing, except water; and of this article we were obliged to be very economical. We had very rough weather for some time, until we got into the trade winds; and when well within their general limits, we altered:

our course to the westward and set the square sail.

Our vessel which we called the *Runaway* was no sailor; having from the whim of the chief been obliged to preserve much of her original form. She was, however, strong and well finished; but in my opinion not so good a vessel as the *Effort*. We made the island of Owyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands, but fearing the natives we durst not approach near enough to have any communication with them. We continued our course with a steady trade, intending to stop at the island of Tinian, to replenish our water and stores. My friend and I had much conversation, and I am free to own the time passed more pleasantly on board the *Runaway*, than it did on board the *Effort*; and from this circumstance only; as other considerations gave the latter much the preference.

The following conversation took place between us one pleasant afternoon as we were running the trades down.

S. What part of India do you think of going to with the Runaway?

F. Our skins would sell best at Canton, and we could freight the proceeds to any part of Europe or America we chose.

S. Suppose papers are demanded of us, and an account who we are and where we came from, what shall we say?

F. I have never considered that, and I think it would be impolitic to tell the truth about it. We must manufacture a story for the occasion.

S. Upon the whole I am not perfectly convinced, that we have acted right with the old chief, in running away with probably all his property.

F. Why! did not the old Turk murder your shipmates, and make prize of the vessel and cargo worth a dozen of this?

S. True he did; but his doing wrong is no justification of us; and I am very fearful ill-gotton wealth will not last long.

F. We cannot perfectly justify ourselves upon the strict rule of right and wrong; but

when amongst Romans we must do as Romans do. We have played them a savage trick : it is too late to repent ; and must even make the best of it, and get out of the scrape as well as we can.

S. Our water will not last us to any part of India : if we stop at Tinian how shall we get on shore ?

F. Swim on shore, to be sure ! And with a hatchet and wood, we can make a raft. You no doubt, would build a boat, if left to yourself. Now I think of it, I have been at one of the most interesting and retired places in the world, on the island of Luconia. We will run in there, and reship our property to some part of China unsuspected. The story we will tell the Spaniards shall be, that we were a tender to an American vessel on the coast of North America ; that our crew originally consisted of six men ; but that the other four were killed in an encounter we had with the natives, in Juan de Fuco straits ; that we got off by out sailing the canoes that attacked us ;

and not finding our ship at the usual place of rendezvous, we were afraid to remain long among the savages.

S. The story is plausible enough, and, I think, necessary for our own preservation; but once fairly out of this scrape, I will never be caught in such another.

Thus passed the time; and thus we see one deviation from rectitude leads to another. The only mitigation of the offence was the reflection, that we were punishing an old blood-thirsty chief, and perhaps he might have killed us both for our property: and on the score of self preservation it might perhaps be fully justified.

We continued our course without any interruption, until in latitude fifteen degrees north, longitude one hundred and seventy five east, when we discovered an island. As we approached it, we could discover smoke and signs of inhabitants. It was my advice to keep off, and not approach it nearer; but

my friend was too bold to apprehend danger, before it had actually arrived. Seeing his determination, and not being less bold, but perhaps more prudent, I prepared our arms, in case we should want them. This island had a most enchanting appearance, interspersed with hill and valley, wood and plain, rivulet and cottage, in the most beautiful, manner imaginable. The scene presented was so enticing, that we both gazed with wonder and admiration, and with many regrets that we were doomed to so different a scene, as the life of a sailor presented, compared with a residence on such a beautiful spot. We were both very desirous to land on this island, but we thought it necessary to proceed with caution. As we drew near the shore, we observed many natives on the elevated spots, and soon after, a number of canoes, from behind a point of land, appeared, paddling towards our vessel. We now brought too, and prepared to meet them as friends, or foes, as the case might require.

The canoes were small, and but two men in each and many of them. They approached us in a line abreast, with great regularity. We hoisted a white flag, as the only token of peace we could exhibit. When the canoes were within fifty yards of us, they ceased paddling, and instantly gave us a regular discharge of stones from their slings. I am convinced from their size and velocity, if any of them had hit us, death must have been the consequence. Not wishing to hurt them, I fired a musket over their heads, in hopes to intimidate them. At the same time, I requested my friend to right the helm, and give us head way through the water, or they would certainly be on board, in which case they would not give him time to say "good bye Alek." As we gained head way, the natives falling astern, soon took to their paddles again, in pursuit of us. Finding they would overtake us, we fired both muskets at the nearest canoe. The whole fleet stopped in a moment, and seeing their companions fall in the water, they hastily picked

them up, and all made towards the shore with the utmost swiftness.

My friend proposed heaving about, and picking up the canoe; which we soon executed, finding no difficulty in hauling her on board. There were a few cocoa nuts, many stones, and two paddles in her. Holding a short consultation upon the possibility of landing, or making a peace with them, we concluded, all things considered, not to attempt further communication with them. The canoe thus made prize of, was of great value to us.

We continued our course once more under full sail for the Island of Tinian, which we expected to have all to ourselves. My friend was a great moralizer; and was fully persuaded Providence had taken us under his particular guidance, as we had taken in the scuffle with the natives, what we had least thought of, and most wanted, a boat to land with. This island was not laid down

in any chart we had on board ; but I afterwards found one near our situation, in another chart, called St. Bartholemi.

In ten days after leaving this island, we made the island of Tinian, and anchored at the southern end, opposite a white sandy beach, in ten fathoms water, about half a mile from the shore, over a bottom of hard sand and gravel. We now found great use for the canoe, which we constantly employed, bringing off water, limes, oranges, bread fruit and fire wood. We had no luck at hunting ; neither could we spare much time for the purpose, being fearful of losing the monsoon ; and the weather was so warm, if we had killed an animal, it could not keep sweet twenty four hours.

Having provided ourselves abundantly with the produce of the island, we weighed anchor and proceeded on our course a little more to the north, intending to pass round the northern end of Luconia. We continued

our course without accident, until we anchored at a small place, in the island of Luconia, where my friend was well acquainted, having been there the voyage before on his passage to China.

This was a beautiful place, and near the mouth of a river, into which we hauled the Runaway, by permission of a Spanish gentleman, proprietor of the wharf or key, to which we made fast. The town of Bigan was at the distance of four or five miles up the river, where the government and civil authorities resided. With permission of the governor, we sold our vessel and cargo, for the sum of six thousand dollars, five hundred in cash, and bills on a merchant in Cadiz for the remainder.

From this place we sailed in a schooner, bound to Batavia, and at that place I parted with my friend, he having friends and connections in Bengal to return to, and my wish being to return to my native place once

more. My friend gave me a recommendation to a house in London, and whom he authorized to negotiate our bills and receive his part of them; I having engaged as quarter master on board an Indiaman bound to London. We had lived very amicably and shared so many dangers together, it was with regret we parted, promising to keep up a communication by letter; and the old adage on our lips that, "the best of friends must part," we bid each other a final adieu.

I arrived at London without any circumstance worthy of note having taking place during the passage, received my discharge and a handsome recommendation from the captain. Seeking the house in London my friend had recommended to negotiate our bills, I was mortified and disappointed to learn, that the house they were drawn upon had lately failed, and would not pay one shilling in the pound. The only course now to be pursued would be, to return them

protested in a proper manner to the place whence they came. Here was an end of our ill-gotten gain! convincing me by certain experience that, honesty is the best policy after all.

I had some money left of my wages; and reserving enough to equip me for another voyage, I determined to spend the remainder in viewing every thing worth notice in that great city. Hearing one day of an expedition fitting out by government for the purpose of carrying the bread fruit from Otaheite to Jamaica, I determined to get a birth in this expedition, if possible, as my pride would not permit me to return home poor, and my natural inclination and curiosity leading me on, I could not resist the temptation. On application to captain Bligh, I found all the officers were engaged; but from my recommendation, the captain would take me as an able seaman, with the promise of promotion, on the first vacancy. I passed myself as an Englishman and only

twenty years of age. My looks did not betray me, as I had never indulged in spirituous liquor; and my appearance was fresh and youthful; notwithstanding I was near twenty seven years old.

The ship was called the *Bounty* of about two hundred and fifteen tons burthen, and fitted with every possible care for such an undertaking. The whole number of souls on board, at the time of sailing, was forty six. Our captain's name was William Bligh, who ranked as a lieutenant in the royal navy. The next in command was John Fryer, sailing master; having two mates, William Elphinstone and Fletcher Christian, our present commodore.

On the fourth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, the pilot got us under way, and several days after, we took on board our gunner's stores at Long reach, and our armament of four carriage guns, four pounders, and ten swiv-

els. After many unsuccessful attempts to get to sea, we finally succeeded with a fair wind, the twenty third day of December. January the fifth, 1788, we saw the island of Teneriffe and came to anchor in the road of Santa Cruz, where we took in water, wine, and such refreshments, as the island afforded, and we could procure. We left Teneriffe on the tenth day of January, all in good health. At this time the crew were divided into three watches, and the charge of the third given to Mr. Christian; and our allowance of bread was reduced from full allowance to two thirds.

On the second of March, Mr. Christian received a commission from the captain to act as lieutenant. March the tenth one of the crew received two dozen lashes as a punishment for a hasty word given to a midshipman. Twenty third of March we saw the coast of Terra del Fuego, when a series of bad weather commenced, with much rain and a tremendous ugly cross sea, which

kept the ship in violent motion the whole time. The cook fell and broke one of his ribs, and one of the seamen dislocated his shoulder. We continued beating against strong westerly gales, until the twentieth of April, when captain Bligh relinquished the design of doubling Cape Horn, and bore away for the Cape of Good Hope, to the great joy of all on board. On the twenty fourth of May, we anchored at the Cape of Good Hope, in Seaman's Bay; our ship much weather beaten, and requiring great repairs. We left the place all of us greatly recruited, on the first day of July.

In our run to the eastward we encountered many heavy and dangerous gales of wind. On the twenty eighth of July, we saw the island of St. Paul's, and on the twenty first of August, we anchored at Adventure Bay in Van Diemen's land. Here we collected a large quantity of New Zealand tea, replenished our wood and water, and departed, September the fourth. On the

nineteenth of September we discovered a cluster of small rocky islands, to which captain Bligh gave the name of Bounty Islands, considering them to be a new discovery. October the ninth, died Isaac Valentine: his body was committed to the deep with the usual solemnities. October the twenty seventh, we anchored in Matavia Bay, the place of our destination. Tents were erected on shore, and a good understanding and trade commenced with the natives. In November the boat-keeper received a dozen lashes, for suffering the natives to steal something from the boat. December the ninth, the surgeon died and was buried on shore the next day. December the twenty fourth, seven hundred bread fruit plants were taken on board in good order. January the thirtieth, 1789, a seaman was punished with nineteen lashes for striking an Indian in his own defence.

April the fourth we stood out of the bay with the sea breeze on our return. April the

twenty third we anchored at Annamooka, one of the Friendly Islands, where we replenished our wood and water, and departed on the twenty sixth. On the twenty seventh of April, we were becalmed between the islands of Tofoa and Kotoo. A more particular account of the transactions on board the *Bounty* previous to the twenty eighth of April is not necessary, as we have the log book of the ship, and several of the officers' journals; and having taught most of you to read and write, you can at any time make yourselves acquainted with them.

As to the causes that led to the mutiny on board the *Bounty*, that took place on the twenty eighth of April, I shall only observe, that captain Bligh, in his endeavours to keep up a proper discipline on board the ship, exercised an undue severity; more probably, than the character of the crew required. Had he, as he might without descending from the dignity of his office, condescended

to treat us as fellow mortals, possessed of some degree of feeling, and inclined us, as was in his power, to cultivate an affection for him; the unwarrantable act of my shipmates would not have been committed. It is true the fascinations of Otaheite had taken strong hold of them, and their chance of happiness seemed much greater by remaining on the island, than again encountering their former disagreeable situation, on board the ship; and I am well convinced had their attachment to their commander been as strong, as it is always in the power of one to make it, the mutiny would never have taken place.

I had been apprised of the intentions of the crew, and invited to join, which I declined; but promised to stand neuter. My conduct here also, I am free to acknowledge, was not strictly correct; but then I bore the captain no good will, and from his conduct towards me, he had no right to ex-

pect any stretch of duty towards him, especially at the expence of my shipmates.

On the morning of the twenty eighth of April, Lieut. Christian succeeded in forcing captain Bligh with eighteen others of the crew and officers into the launch. They were allowed to furnish themselves very liberally with stores of all kinds, before they were cast off. Some of the crew retained on board ship, expressed a wish to accompany the captain in the boat; but were not permitted. Many of the crew objected to so many stores of tools, twine, canvass, and other articles being allowed the boat; observing, that with such kind of stores captain Bligh would enlarge his boat on one of the islands in sight, and find his way back to old England again. When the boat was cast off, those in her rowed towards the island of Tofoa, then in sight, about ten leagues distant. The ship continued lying to with the main topsail to the mast; and during ten minutes a deadly si-

lence prevailed, as each gazed at the boat, and reflected upon the desperate and inhuman act they had been guilty of.

Lieutenant Christian seemed more agitated and disturbed than any other person on board; probably feeling more sensibly, at this particular time, the enormity of the act he had been guilty of, and the possibility that he might be called, at some future day, to answer with his life for the deed. We were next summoned aft, to consult upon our future proceedings. Lieut. Christian was unanimously chosen to command the ship, until her arrival at Otaheite; and when there, each one should be at liberty, to act his pleasure, as to continuing on board or leaving her.

We were in numbers at this time twenty five, and the following men were chosen officers by the crew.

Fletcher Christain, Captain,

George Stewart, Mate,

Peter Hayward, 2d Mate,
 Edward Young, 3d Mate,
 James Morrison, Boatswain,
 John Mills, Gunner,
 Charles Churchill, Master at arms,
 Charles Norman, Carpenter,
 Thomas Mc'Intosh, Carpenter's Mate,
 William Brown, Cook,
 Joseph Coleman, Cook's Mate ;
 fourteen of the men serving as the crew.
 We next filled away steering west north-
 west, while the boat was in sight.

An unusual quantity of grog had been given out this day, and most of the crew were in such a state of intoxication, as had the launch been near, we should have made a poor defence against recapture. When the boat was out of sight, we directed our course towards Otaheite. The next morning it was suggested by Mr. Young, that the natives not finding captain Bligh on board at our arrival, might suspect some foul play, and treat us accordingly. We

therefore by a majority of voices altered the destination of the *Bounty* for Toobouai, where we arrived not without many wrangles, and an evident want of that subordination so necessary to the safe conduct of a ship. Lieutenant Christian seemed to have lost much of his resolute character; nor did he command with that confidence he had formerly.

For myself, I was completely disgusted with the whole proceedings, and sorely lamented the deplorable situation I now found myself in. From my aversion to liquor, I had but few friends on board, as I would not join the others in their cups. I however steered clear of any quarrel, said little, and made it up in thinking. On arriving at Toobouai, we landed two of the guns and four swivels, intending to fortify ourselves against the attacks of the natives. But even this necessary work did not progress much; most of the men giving

themselves up to idleness, and intemperance altogether.

There were many things this island, did not produce, that were abundant at Otaheite; it was therefore voted that the ship should proceed to that place, and procure them. It fell to my lot to go in the ship again to Otaheite for the before mentioned purpose. I was pleased with the opportunity, as I was much attached to your mother, with whom I became acquainted in our former visit to that island, and was in hopes to prevail on her to embark with me on our return. This she would not consent to, as she had a great dread of the natives of Toobouai. Others of my shipmates were more fortunate in their persuasions.

We obtained from the natives a good supply of goats, hogs, fowls and fruit in exchange for iron, and articles from the ship, and returned to Toobouai, where we found the greatest confusion imaginable. Our

men could not agree among themselves, or with the natives, who had attacked them twice, during our absence, and been beaten; and it was only in these actions there was any unanimity among them. Neither was it in the power of the captain or any of his officers to restore it, as they acknowledged no master, and would not listen to remonstrance or reason. I had observed the state of captain Christian's mind for a long time. It was apparent he felt great remorse for the act he had been guilty of, that he had little or no respect for his associates, seemingly a man whose feelings were worked up to a great degree of impatience, indecision, and almost desperation. He had discovered of late a considerable degree of confidence towards me in particular.

One day being certain that we were quite alone, and in no danger of interruption, I proposed to him to leave the place and embark all for Otaheite; and when there, to select a few of the most tractable

of the crew, take ourselves wives, and depart with the ship, for some desolate island, and run her on shore making up our minds, there to finish our days. I observed to him, there could be no doubt, in any one's mind, of the possibility or even the probability, that captain Bligh or some of his crew had been able to reach a civilized part of the world, in which case the hue and cry would be set up after us, and ships sent to seek us ; and when found, a halter would finish our career. This suggestion struck him forcibly, and I could perceive a ray of hope in his eye.

C. But where shall we go ?

S. I have been examining the charts and voyages on board the ship, for the purpose ; and Pitcairn's Island, discovered by captain Carteret, in the sloop Swallow, appears to be well adapted to our purpose. We can furnish ourselves at Otaheite with seeds, plants, fowls and hogs ; and all things considered, I think it the best thing that can be done, by men in our situation.

C. I recollect the island; it is far to windward. The ship is too much run out, and plundered of her stores, ever to beat there.

S. That is nothing. If I could get across the ocean, in a boat, built almost entirely with a jackknife, surely in this ship, we can reach Pitcairn, or perhaps fall in with a similar island, that will serve our purpose as well.

C. It will do ; I'll set about it ; be secret ; and tell no one of our scheme.

Giving me a hearty shake by the hand, and a tear starting from his eye, at this gleam of peace and security, we returned to our comrades. There was no difficulty in persuading the men to leave Toobouai. We embarked all hands again, and made sail the last time for Otaheite. Much circumspection was necessary in selecting our associates for the intended expedition, and in keeping our plan a profound secret.

A relation of our proceedings at Otaheite would not be interesting in detail, as your mother can instruct you in all the minute particulars : and as I intend this to be preserved in the Smith family, as a kind of record of their origin, I consider it particular enough for that purpose. At Otaheite we concluded to share the stores of most use, without any determination at that time, of what should be done with the ship. Soon after our arrival, Charles Churchill and Matthew Thompson, came to blows about a woman, which ended in the death of Churchill. The natives in revenge for this violation of their laws, sacrificed Thompson as a peace offering to their gods.

The following men were selected, and secured to be of our party :—Edward Young, John Mills, Matthew Quintal, William McKoy, John Williams, Isaac Martin, and William Brown, with Fletcher Christian and myself, making in all nine men. We had each of us a wife on board ; neither of them,

however, suspecting our intention : and we gave out as an excuse for staying on board, the necessity of preserving the ship, and what remained of her stores, from being plundered by the natives : and that it was also much cooler on board the ship, than on shore. The boats fell to the lot of the other party, and they expressed a determination of enlarging one of them, and leaving the island for some one more distant, and less frequented by Europeans.

We had three small canoes, with which we communicated with the shore, and industriously and secretly collected seeds, plants, roots, and in fact every thing, we thought would be of any use or service to us, where we were going : and the day before our departure, we carried on board a number of goats, hogs, and fowls. On the night of the twenty first of September, 1790, we cut the cable, and silently left the bay, steering with a free wind off shore, to the southward.

In the morning the island was still in sight, and I expressed (in which I was joined by others) some apprehension, lest our shipmates, suspecting our design, should attempt to embark in the enterprize with us; making it a question, if any of them should attempt coming on board, whether to admit them. We were unanimously of opinion they should not be admitted, as they had generally proved themselves unworthy our confidence or care. As a measure of precaution, we made ready our guns, and each man contributed from his share of ammunition enough to make a vigorous defence.

We were becalmed most of the forenoon, during which we were employed in making ready for sea, preparing our guns for defence, and quieting the fears of our wives, who were much alarmed and affected at leaving their native place. At noon we discovered the cutter with eight men, rowing hard for the ship; but before they were within a gun shot, a breeze had sprung up;

and by making all the sail we could on the ship, we left them fast, to our great joy ; as we did not wish to add murder to our other crimes, by opposing them, and which we had all determined to do, whatever might be the consequence.

Having so far succeeded as to get away from our former shipmates, we congratulated each other on our good fortune thus far ; and each one took a solemn oath to live peaceably together for the time to come. There was not much apprehension of the contrary ; as we were all disgusted with the late proceedings, and fully determined to maintain good order and fellowship. Our rum too was all out, and this added much to strengthen such good resolutions. Before leaving the island we had drawn up a written agreement, by which we bound ourselves to obey the commands of captain Christian as chief, either on board the ship, or on shore ; and to continue in force until revoked by the voice of two thirds of our number.

My associates did me the honor to confer the next command upon me, and Mr. Young to be associated with us as the third in command ; the whole number to be called on for their vote on great and important occasions ; and on common ones, the captain was bound to consult his two officers. The women were to have no voice in the general government ; and the property of the ship and her remaining stores and equipment should, for the present, be considered public property to be distributed to each one as his wants might require. We divided ourselves into two watches, the women taking turns to cook for us, and admitted on a perfect equality with their husbands, excepting the above proviso.

We had the wind from south east, and stood to the southward close hauled, intending to gain the variable winds for the purpose of running to the eastward, as a more expeditious way of reaching Pitcairn, than to attempt beating against a regular trade wind.

On the morning of the twenty third day of September, sea account, we picked up a canoe with six men in her, belonging to Otaheite. These men had been at sea six days, and were now almost starved with hunger and cold. We could not well refuse their importunity to be taken on board. They had left Otaheite for a neighbouring island; and having lost sight of the land they were perplexed in their course, and had been paddling about in an uncertain direction ever since. I looked upon it a very unfortunate circumstance, that we should be compelled, as it were, by an unavoidable necessity, to receive these people on board, fearing they would make difficulty with our women, they being also of the lower order of society, even at Otaheite.

On the morning of September the twenty sixth, we saw the island of Ohetiroa a few miles to windward of us; and here I proposed setting the indians adrift again, in their own canoe, which we had hoisted on

deck; but in this I was opposed by every voice on board. First they were not acquainted at the island, and might be killed; next they did not want to leave us; and lastly, as we should have much work on our hands at Pitcairn, they would be of great service to us, in cultivating and clearing the land. We continued steering to the southward, as the trade wind would permit.

On the thirtieth day of September, in latitude $34^{\circ} 30'$ south, we took a strong breeze from the westward, and altered the ship's course to east. The weather now threatened a heavy gale. We sent down top gallant yards and made every thing snug. At meridian the gale had much increased. We took in our topsails, and under the reefed foresail, we scud before one of the most tremendous gales of wind, I ever encountered. The natives on board were much alarmed; but the ship being tight and strong, we had no fears on her account. We continued our course to the eastward,

until judging ourselves in longitude 130 degrees west, we concluded to stand again to the northward, until we should be in the latitude of Pitcairn.

October the eighth, we commenced steering to the northward, with variable winds and squally weather. No transaction of an unpleasant nature had as yet taken place on board: on the contrary, we all seemed as happy and cheerful, as falls to the lot of man. Our wives, it is true, made many lamentations, at leaving the scenes of their youth; but every day they were more reconciled to their fate. The only discontented faces were those of the native men we had picked up; and of a truth they had not much in prospect to comfort them.

On the fifteenth of October, finding ourselves in latitude 25 degrees south, and our longitude by account being $128^{\circ} 30'$ west, at meridian we bore away west for the island, placing a man at the mast head to look

out. At 4, P. M. we saw the island bearing due west, at the distance of ten leagues. Great was our joy at this event; for had we not taken the precaution of running to the eastward of its situation, as laid down by captain Carteret, we should certainly have missed the island.

We run for the center of it, until six o'clock, looking at it all the time, with more anxiety, I must confess, than I ever before experienced in any situation of life. Here undoubtedly I was doomed to spend the remainder of my days; and this circumstance alone was enough to excite in me a lively curiosity, and great anxiety to know what sort of a place it would prove to be; and as we approached the place we discovered such beautiful groves of cocoa nut and other trees, and such beautiful scenery of hills and vallies, that hope still flattered us it would prove all, or even more than we had a right to expect. At night, being near enough the island, we hauled on the wind under our topsails for the night.

After supper a general consultation was held in the cabin, where we unanimously concluded to run the ship on shore, at the most suitable part of the island we could select, to land every useful thing from, and break or burn her up. This was the best possible plan, that could be devised, for people in our situation, though a desperate one. We were all more or less thoughtful, during the night. The women were not aware of our design; but no signs of irresolution were evinced by my companions.

October the sixteenth, by civil account, at daylight we filled away, running for the eastern end of the island. As we approached it, we could not help expressing our delight, that if we must spend our days here, the place seemed peculiarly adapted to our purpose. Having nearly circumnavigated the island, and found no place suitable to land; on the south west side, we discovered a fine bay or cove, an extensive valley, leading with a gentle rise inland, cover-

ered with cocoa, and other trees ; and a brook or rivulet winding through the whole. Fixing on the mouth of this brook, as a proper place, with all sail set, a good breeze on our quarter, and three hearty cheers, we run the *Bounty* hard and fast ashore !

Her stern being afloat, she soon swung round, presenting her broad side to the shore, which tended greatly to keep off the violence of the surf, and enabled us to land the women ; some of them requiring to be tenderly handled. Our next care was to land the sails, and a party to erect tents for shelter with them, under the superintendence of Mr. Young ; and, with the addition of our spare spars, we all had comfortable lodgings during the night.

The ship soon bilged and partly filled with water, the surf beating very hard over her. There was nothing, however, in the hold, could damage much by water ; as we had taken the precaution to remove every

thing of value between decks, before we ran on shore. The tide had ebbed considerably, in the afternoon, and enabled us to make great dispatch in discharging. The women were distressed on first discovering our intention of running on shore ; but when the deed was done, and they were convinced it was irrevocable, they willingly assisted us to the extent of their strength and abilities. Before night, we had landed the most valuable articles from on board, having laboured hard, and until darkness obliged us to desist ; when captain Christian assembled us one and all together, and read a prayer from the book, with some little alteration, making it applicable to people in our situation : and this custom, my dear children, has been adopted, without any neglect, ever since.

We were employed many days in transporting the contents of the Bounty on shore ; and even part of the Bounty herself ; the women employing themselves in building

houses after the manner of Otaheite, at which they were very expert; and as the houses were completed, we availed ourselves of the tents to deposit our stores in. Mr. Edward Young was entrusted with the direction of laying out the plan of the village, with such of the women as were in a situation to assist. The place fixed upon is where Violet Village now stands. The first house finished is the one now occupied by our commodore. There have been many alterations to it, since it was first erected. The flooring has been added, and the small room back, which now serves us for a library, and the deposit of our records, stationary, and most valuable articles. The other houses were first completed upon the Otaheite plan, but altered from time to time, according to the fancy or whim of the owner, to the state they now appear in, at the writing of this history.

As John Williams was an excellent penman, he was chosen secretary, and charged

with the duty of keeping an exact account of every thing brought from the ship, and how distributed, to whom, and when, in a book expressly for the purpose. In another book he was orderd to keep a kind of town-clerk record of all marriages, names of parties, births and deaths, that should take place on the island. On the twentieth day of October, 1790, captain Christian went through the ceremony of marrying each individual of us, according to the rites of the church of England, and choosing me to read the service on his own marriage, which you will find an account of, in the town records, as written by Mr. Williams at the time. We made this a day of frolic altogether ; and there seemed no alloy to our pleasure, except the sulky and discontented appearance of the six Indians.

It was fortunate, according to the rules of civilized life, these ceremonies were performed at the time they were, else Mrs. Christian would not have been considered

an honest woman, for the next day, being Thursday, October the twenty first, 1790, she presented her husband with a fine boy; and being the first born on the island, the day was celebrated with a republican discharge of thirteen guns, and with great rejoicing. His father named him Thursday October Christian, and predicted he would be chief of a much larger community. To William Brown, gardener, was given the charge of planting in suitable places, such seeds and plants, as we had brought with us from Otaheite, or as were previously on board the ship.

At the end of this year, we had increased the republic by the birth of seven children; three boys and four girls. Our native men gave us much trouble and uneasiness; nor could we by any acts of kindness conciliate them in any degree. They had been accustomed to living in a promiscuous intercourse with the women at Otaheite; and the restraints they were obliged to submit

to, made them very troublesome and ill natured. We voted them out of our society altogether; giving them a portion of land on the eastern end of the island, and a full share of every thing necessary to their comfort and subsistence. We there placed them with a positive declaration, if they were ever caught beyond the limits prescribed them, we should either of us, feel at perfect liberty to shoot them. They were not pleased with this arrangement, as they were lazy indolent men, and had other views in contemplation.

On first landing the stock from the Bounty, we suffered several hogs, goats and fowls to go at large, whence the great increase of these creatures at this time. Some inconveniences have attended the measure; we have been obliged to inclose with good fences all our cultivated grounds; and through these they sometimes break and commit great depredations. On the other hand, we have been saved the trouble of

rearing and feeding them; and it is in our power to catch or shoot them at any time; the hunting of them being a source of amusement and relaxation. The garden seeds were found accidentally in a box on board the *Bounty*. To this circumstance you are indebted for the pease, beans, cabbages, squashes, turnips, and other roots, which flourish so well in our gardens. The girls also are indebted to this store for the roses and flowers, with which they ornament our houses and gardens.

Having built a comfortable house for each family, we built a large and secure store house, in which we deposited the articles saved from the ship; many of which we have now on hand, and are such as will be always useful to us; such as bar and bolt iron, hatchets, and tools of various kinds, clothing, salt beef, pork, and hard bread, pease, oatmeal, a smith's forge, medicine chest, spare rope, and all her armament, of four four-pounders, ten swivels;

of muskets, cutlasses, and pistols, each man had but one, and such a proportion of powder and ball, as fell to his lot, when these articles were shared at Otaheite; many books of voyages, travels, and navigation, and a considerable quantity of writing paper, stationary and blank books. These labours, with clearing and planting as much land as we could, completed the year.

On new year's day, captain Christian called a general meeting for arranging some plan of future proceedings; when it was voted, that three men should be sent out for the express purpose of exploring the island, and ordered to report the general appearance of the shores and interior, and its productions, fix upon a suitable place for a country residence, and a secure place for a citadel to be built, that we might defend ourselves, if unfortunately our retreat should be discovered by any one sent expressly for the purpose of apprehending us. The strong probability that captain Bligh had

reached home, and that ships were now on their passage in search of us, warranted this precaution. We all took a solemn oath to stand by each other, in any such emergency, and not voluntarily surrender ourselves to the probability of an ignominious death.

As our six natives gave us still much trouble, we had an interesting debate as to the best plan of proceeding with them; and here I was pleased that no one proposed their death, although we had threatened them so strongly and as they had passed the barrier so often. It was concluded to build a decked boat of sufficient capacity for the voyage, instruct them in the management of her, and what course to steer for some island to leeward, on which they might land; and once more set them adrift. As they were not worthy to live with us, and our lives were in a continual jeopardy from them, this could not be considered cruel, and might turn out fortunately for the Indians.

Edward Young, William Brown, and John Williams were chosen to explore the island, and requested to make their report in writing, that it might be inserted in the town records. The following report was made by Mr. Young in behalf of the committee.

“ We took our departure from the village on the morning of the second day of January, 1791, proceeding inland along the course of the river. We have taken the liberty of giving such names to the different parts of the island, as seemed most appropriate. This we considered highly necessary to be done, and the names here subjoined can be altered or revised at pleasure. To the river we gave the name of Violet, from the immense numbers of this plant we observed growing near the banks. Where our village stands, the river is about fifteen feet wide, and three feet deep, perfectly clear; and the water of the best kind for drinking or washing. Its course is not very rapid at the village; but as the ground has a gradu-

al ascent from our habitations, the course of the river is somewhat accelerated over an inclined bottom. To the large peaked hill in sight, and near the village, we gave the name of Pyramid from its near resemblance to one, in some points of view. As we progressed up the river, we found the valley to increase in breadth, being about two miles and a half in extent, from the foot of the hills on either side, at the distance of one mile from the village. A long range of hills forms a barrier on the northern side of this delightful valley, whence issued, from the fissures in their rocky sides, numerous streams of clear water, contributing to the main river.

The range of hills, on the north, extended in an easterly direction, the whole length of the island, from their commencement near the north side of the village. This range of hills was very uneven and irregular; some parts of the range ending in high and lofty peaks; others presenting to view

a continued flat, broken at times by immense chasms, as if some convulsion of nature had removed the parts asunder, without loss on either side. To this range of hills we gave the general name of Landmark hills, leaving the different parts of it to be named at a future day.

We found the valley in general, covered with wood; such as cocoa nut, elm, cedar, cashew, and bread-fruit trees; on the rise of the hills sugar cane, savine, and bushes, bearing berries unknown to either of us. The summit of the hills were generally a hard black rock, with now and then a patch of grass and fern. At the distance of two miles from the village, we came to a most delightful fall of water, over a complete barrier of craggy rocks, extending from side to side of the valley and about fifty feet high. Here we sat down to prepare our dinners, and contemplate one of the most delightful scenes, that nature and solitude could produce.

Having finished our repast, with some difficulty we ascended this barrier, whence the valley presented much the same appearance as below the falls; and here an immense chasm, in Landmark hills, presented a fair passage through them, to a valley on the other side. We passed this opening, giving it the name of Narrow pass, intending to explore it on our return. As we progressed in the valley, we came to a beautiful pond, at the distance of three miles from the village, and one mile from the water fall. This pond was about one mile long, and three quarters of a mile broad, in the middle of which was an island, covered with palm and other trees, the whole seeming more like enchantment than like any thing real.

We travelled entirely round this pond; the shores being clear of underbrush, but somewhat thick with trees. At the eastern end of the pond, the ground presented a steep hill, forming a perpendicular preci-

pice on the ocean side, against the base of which, the sea beat in awful splendor. On one side of us, Landmark hills rose suddenly to the height of sixty feet; and on the other side a hill presented a similar barrier, to which we gave the name of East watcher. At the distance of half a mile from the shore, is a small islet, covered with shrubs, and containing about fifty acres, and three rocks near it, completed our reseaches in this direction. As the only possible way of proceeding was to return the way we came for the present we gave the name of Fendoff, to this small island.

The pond, before spoken of, was covered with ducks and teal; and never having been visited by man before, they shewed but little fear of us. Having our guns with us, we killed as many as would supply our wants, and keep sweet. It is probable they breed on the island, and have had this place to resort to for ages undisturbed. In our progress to the east end of the island, we had

taken our course on the north side of the valley ; on our return we took the south side ; and near the western end of the pond, (to which we gave the name of Brown's pond, he having been the first discoverer) we discovered an opening between the East watcher, and a high hill that had the appearance of the gable end of a house, which we named Gable hill.

On entering this passage, the ground presented a gentle declivity to the sea shore, near which the six Indians had erected their huts, and round which they had cleared a few acres of ground. This appeared the most fertile and productive spot we had yet seen, and fronted the south east. Having our arms with us, the natives were somewhat alarmed, at our sudden appearance in this quarter, as we carried them there by water, and they had as yet received no visits by land. It was through the above mentioned pass, they generally intruded themselves upon our settlement. The place

could not be approached by any way, other than this pass, or by water.

The space of land, capable of cultivation at this place, was two miles in extent along the sea shore, and about one mile wide. We called this spot by the general name of Indian village ; and the pass by which we entered, Indian pass. After refreshing ourselves at this village, we returned through the pass, and continued our course to the water fall of Violet river. We thought it advisable to cross the river, which was eight feet wide at this place ; and explore the regions through Narrow pass.

This pass was nearly one mile in extent of a zigzag form ; one side being the exact counterpart of the other, both sides perpendicular, and from eighty to one hundred feet high. Being through the passage, we discovered another valley below us, seemingly of great extent. Landmark hills being joined, about one mile on our right, by a high

hill ending in a double peak, something in appearance, like the knight heads of a ship; and from this resemblance, we named it Knighthhead hill. Descending the hill from the pass, the trees not being so numerous, as in the other valley, and the ground covered with long rank grass, we came to a cove whose shores were covered with fine white sand; immediately in front of which was an island, less than half a mile distant, which broke off the force of the surf very much.

In this cove we found a great number of real fur seals, basking in the sun. With each of us a good club, we attacked them; and before they had made good their retreat, we had killed fifty of them. Knowing to how many useful purposes their skins could be applied, we set diligently to work, skinning, cleaning and spreading them on the ground to dry. To this cove we gave the name of Seal cove, and to the island opposite, the name of Seal island; which was very high, on the north side of it; but

on the side opposite, the cove presented to view a fine beach, on which we observed great numbers of seals. This island could not be discovered as such, from the sea, as from no point of the compass could the horizon be distinguished between the shores of either island.

We took turns during the night to watch for turtle, as there were evident marks of their having been on shore the night before. We had the good fortune to turn two fine ones, of about five hundred pounds each. We could have taken more, but had no means of conveying them to the village. We made a most delicious meal from one of them, leaving the other to be taken away at our leisure. On the extreme north of the island was a hill whose numerous peaks towered above any others we had seen. We did not ascend this hill, as we could have a full view of its gently inclined sides, covered here and there with groves of cocoa and other trees, without the trouble of

ascending; and from the cove we could see that its sides were perpendicular next the sea. To this we gave the name of North watcher; and continued our course to the westward through the woods. Here we saw two of the hogs we had let loose upon the island; and observed they were feeding upon nuts, that had fallen from a tree; to all appearance the same as our English beech.

We had observed the earth to be generally of a black colour, rich, and fat; many trees of a hard nature, totally unknown to us, many bushes bearing berries, and in many places plenty of ginger, and many roots and plants unknown to us. And, in this second valley, we observed the sugar cane and bread fruit in great abundance. Parrots, parroquets, and doves were the principal birds of the land species, we have seen; ducks and teal we have before mentioned, as being plenty in the pond; on the barren height were many birds of the

oceanic kind ; such as the albatross, gannet, boobie, and tropic bird. We had no opportunity to try the shores for fish ; but the Indians had caught many, near the shore in their canoe ; such, they informed us, as cray, and parrot fish, groopers, snooks, albicores, bonitoes, and dolphins ; of shell fish, conches and muscles in plenty.

As we progressed to the westward, we came to a large savannah or meadow, which at times must be entirely overflowed, containing near one thousand acres, quite clear of wood, but overgrown with bamboo. A high ridge of hills, on the north, extending to the extreme western end of the island, to which we gave the name of North barrier, forming one side of the valley, and Landmark hills, the other side. As we approached the western end of the island, the accumulation of waters from the neighbouring hills were discharged by a brook, winding round the bluff end of Landmark hills, and emptying itself through a large fissure in

the rocks, at about one half of a mile from the mouth of Violet river. To this brook we gave the name of Rapid, from the velocity with which it descended in its course, over the rocks and stones.

The western end of the island is formed much like the heel of a shoe, forming an immense precipice on the ocean side, from the North barrier, round to near the mouth of Violet river. At about one mile from the west end of the island, a projection of rocks from the barrier, terminating in a peak, left an entrance of one quarter of a mile wide, into a most beautiful valley, in the form of a horse shoe ; the longest diameter of which being about one mile. To this valley we gave the name of Horse-shoe, from its form ; and to the two peaks, at its entrance, the names of Centinels, designating one from the other by north, and south, as they stood.

The barriers round this Horse-shoe were about fifty feet high, on the inside, and one

hundred feet high next the ocean. We ascended the rocks with some difficulty; and off the west end of the island, at a short distance, lie three rocks; and being the last thing observed we called them Committee rocks. To the first valley, through which Violet river runs, we gave the general name of Christian valley; and to the valley on the north of it, we gave the name of Smith's valley; in honour of the persons whose names they bear. We would recommend Christian valley, as the most favourable place for the cultivation of any thing, as advantage can be taken of moist or dry spots, as the different articles to be raised require. Violet river can be navigated to the falls, by flat bottomed canoes or boats; and the water can be led all over the valley, in gutters or troughs from the falls above. The art of man could never have planned so eligible a spot, as this valley for every domestic comfort and convenience. In short, the whole island is so admirably adapted to our wants and protection, we

can never be thankful enough that God has cast our lot in such pleasant places.

Horse-shoe valley is a citadel of itself. The passage between the north and south Centinel being the only possible way of access to it; and is as capable, as any part of the island, of cultivation and improvement. It is at the distance of two miles and a half from the village, and our small numbers could defend it against any probable force, which could be brought against it. We would recommend fortifying this entrance, and building several huts or houses in the valley within; and storing it with provisions to stand a siege. We would also recommend a look-out to be kept from some eminence, that notice may be given by signal, when a sail is in sight; that we may take such security before their arrival at the island, as our fears, or prudence may suggest. We would observe that, in our walks over the island, we have not seen snake, toad, rat or reptile of any kind, and but few

insects. Accompanying this report, is an imperfect sketch of the face of the island, and the names given of the different hills and vallies."

Signed, EDWARD YOUNG,
 WILLIAM BROWN,
 JOHN WILLIAMS.

Pitcairn, January the 12th, 1791.

We were much pleased with the account given of the place in the foregoing report ; Captain Christian complimenting the committee upon their faithfulness in discharge of the duty assigned them.

The next thing indispensibly necessary to our safety was to rid ourselves of the natives at Indian Village. We immediately set about a decked boat for them, at the mouth of Violet river, and as we had plenty of materials to spare, and many hands employed, our work went on with more expedition than the building of the Effort. On the first day of March, we were ready for

launching ; and I looked upon this vessel to be fully adequate to carry these six wretches, we had snatched from death, to any island within the general trade wind and to leeward of our own. We had built the boat strong, and very flat, and rigged her a sloop, with but one mast, and two sails. We had rigged a canoe after this fashion, and taken the chief man amongst them to sea for the purpose of instructing him how to steer by a compass, and manage such a rigged vessel.

To our surprize they all seemed delighted with the prospect of once more returning to Otaheite ; but not more so than we were at the prospect of their leaving us ; feeling well assured, that when once they were all on board, and to leeward of the island, we should never be troubled with them afterward, as it was morally impossible from the construction of the boat, they should ever beat to windward in her. The leading man among the natives was allowed to

make such arrangements on board the boat, (which we called the Forceput) as he chose ; and the whole of them entered into our views with alacrity, preparing such articles as would be necessary, and useful to them on the passage.

I have neglected to mention, in its proper place, that four men under the command of Mr. Young, were sent round to Seal cove, for the purpose of bringing to the village the seal skins and turtle that had been left there by the exploring party. After an absence of one night, the canoes returned with ten fine turtle, which we secured in salt water, that we might kill, and eat them at our pleasure. These turtle we considered as a great acquisition. They were a great delicacy, and promised an abundant supply

The seal skins were not brought away, at this time, as the canoes were quite loaded with the turtle ; at the next trip, however,

they were safely landed at the village, and proved in the end of great use to us.

We had erected a small flag staff, on Pyramid hill, and signified to Tomatoa, the chief of the Indians, that when he saw a flag hoisted on this staff, he and his associates were to repair immediately with all their moveables, to our landing at the river. The Forceput being all ready for sea, and for launching, a general council was called by captain Christian, to consult upon the course, and instructions to be given the Indians for their intended voyage.

This was an interesting debate, as it probably involved circumstances of much consequence to us all, and which we should not have attended to, but from the suggestion of our captain, who had always presided at our debates, in a style of order and dignity. He began on this occasion by stating the object of the meeting and debate; he was confident, he said, that he could make the

destination of these savages appear of more consequence than any of us had heretofore imagined.

Christian. “ It is well known, that the character of Englishmen generally, and of their government, does not tend so much to the prevention of fraud and crime, as their ingenuity and perseverance does to the detection and punishment of them, when committed. Considering the manner of captain Bligh’s leaving the *Bounty*, and the liberal supplies allowed him at the time, there can be but little doubt of his having reached Great Britain, by the way of India. The government will not hesitate to dispatch one or more vessels to Otaheite, for the double purpose of bringing as many of the mutineers to trial, as can be found, and completing the object for which the *Bounty* was originally fitted out. Should these natives be fortunate enough to reach Otaheite, by a course we shall give them, the novelty of their vessel, and the story of the na-

tives will become notorious. Any officer that might be in search of us, could not fail of hearing this fact, and the story these six Indians shall have told, will naturally lead such officer to a strict inquiry as to the length of their passage, the course steered, and the number of men left here. With such intelligence for them to act upon we should inevitably be found out ; and you, my friends, must be well aware of the fatal consequences in such an event.

It is true we have been guilty of a great sin, especially in the eyes of our government, whose existence, as such depends upon the strictest discipline on board their ships of war. Our not having blood on our hands will not excuse us ; and we shall be made an example to deter others from the like deed. I am not without my hopes, however, that by a life devoted to moral and good actions, we may atone to our Maker, in some measure, for this deviation from rectitude. There is no doubt these

wretches will steer the course we shall give them, until they see land somewhere. The question is now before you, what course shall we order them to steer and for what place?"

J. Williams. "The Forceput is victualled for a four month's passage; with economy, their stores might last longer. She is strong and fit for any weather. New Zealand is out of harm's way, at the distance only of 2500 miles. The language of the natives is so similar to that of New Zealand, as would be of great advantage to them on their arrival. The various courses they may steer, would place it out of their power to state whence they came. They would arrive there in thirty days, admitting they should have sailed ninety miles per day."

E. Young. "It would be better to knock them all on the head, than to send them on a passage of this kind. Contrary winds would run them out of the direct course;

and in a heavy gale of wind they would perish with fright, if nothing else. We ought, in my opinion, if we intend to follow up our humane intentions, heretofore evinced towards them, to point out some course that shall keep them within the limits of the trade winds, and land them on some island to leeward."

J. Mills. "I was with lieutenant Cook in his voyage to this part of the world, in the year 1760. With the chart now before me, I think a northwest course would carry them in sight of Lagoon or Thrumb cap island, lying between eighteen and twenty south latitude, and distant hence perhaps five or six hundred miles only. If they were disposed to land on either of these islands, they could spend their days very comfortably there. I have been on both these islands and know them well; and the chance of their being visited by Europeans is very small."

J. Williams. "To this also there is an objection. On arriving at Lagoon island, they may be induced to keep to leeward, as there seems to be a chain of these islands, until they find Otaheite or some place near it; with which they are acquainted"

A. Smith. "I think the plan of Mr. Mills the most practicable, notwithstanding the objections of Mr. Williams; for if we give them the course northwest for Otaheite, leaving Lagoon island, they would continue the same course as directed by us; and although there seems to be a number of islands hereabout they cannot be in sight one from another: and these Indians, no doubt will continue the course we shall give them, and having passed Lagoon island, they would probably fall in with the island of Disappointment or king George's islands, laid down in commodore Byron's track across the ocean."

F. Christian. "The proposition of Mr. Mills seems, in my view, the best that has

been offered. I therefore submit it to vote, shall these Indians be instructed to steer north west?"

A general assent was given to this proposition and the meeting about to be dissolved, when Mr. Edward Young desired to be heard a few words.

"I perfectly agree with you all in this vote; but as the means of greater precaution, in case these wretches should be fallen in with by civilized man, at some future day; I propose taking the compass we intend giving them, and to move the needle that is under the card, so that the north point of the needle shall stand under the north west point of the card, and give the natives the west point of the card to steer by, which will in fact be north-west. Should they ever be called upon to state the point they have sailed on, it will be west by their answer and shewing, and this would evidently lead any one to seek us to windward, in the same latitude they found the natives

and this of course would be a wrong scent."

This was readily acceded to and executed; all of us giving great praise to Mr. Young for his ingenuity.

I proposed as another precaution, to give the natives what they should understand to be the name of the island we are now upon, writing "Marquesis" on a piece of paper, and giving them with a request that they would shew it to any of our shipmates, they should chance to fall in with. This was as readily assented to, and Mr. Brown observed the devil was in it if like hounds they were not "at fault," should they attempt to pursue us.

On the second day of March, 1791, the surf being very low, we hoisted a jack on the hill, and prepared every thing for launching. Our wives were well accommodated with seats, in a suitable situation, for

seeing the launch, and it had been a great matter of curiosity and inquiry with them, how the vessel was to be removed from her present situation.

In about one hour from the time of hoisting the jack the natives arrived with all their moveables. Their own canoe was too large to be taken on board; we therefore exchanged her for a smaller one.

Captain Christian now took the chief into his house, and explained to him the point on the compass card he should steer by, which was west. He was told that by steering this course ten or fifteen days he would certainly fall in with the land. He gave him a box with a strip of paper in it marked W, pointing out to him a similar mark on the compass card, making the chief several times pronounce the word west, as the name of the point he was to steer by, until he should see land, when he could act as he pleased. On another piece of paper was

printed with a pen "Marquesis," and on the other side of the same paper "Bounty," which he was requested to shew any white person he should see at Otaheite.

By the aid of Mrs. Christian, as an interpreter, he was made fully to comprehend the purport of his instructions. A pistol, powder and balls were given him, that he might be enabled to preserve some authority over his comrades, and with this present he was very much delighted. Our women, such of them as were not in the secret, gave him many messages to be delivered to their friends at Otaheite; the recollection of whom caused some tears amongst them.

The offer was now made to the women, that if any of them wished to return, they were now at liberty so to do; but to our no small satisfaction, although they had suitable feelings and affections for those left behind, they had no wish to leave their present residence.

We had built this vessel for launching head first, and the chief was instructed to sail round the west end of the island at a suitable distance, before he commenced steering the course given him.

At 8 o'clock, the tide being up, and the natives on board, we split away the blocks, when she went off with great velocity and in high style. The natives hoisted their sails, and giving them three hearty cheers, which they returned, we bid them a lasting adieu. One of our men volunteered to go to Horse shoe valley with a small flag, and watch them until out of sight ; observing to us, that he should keep the flag flying while they remained in sight, and haul it down when they could be seen no longer. In the middle of the afternoon, the flag was struck on the North sentinel, and thus, to our great joy, these men were adrift, beyond the possibility of their return.

We finished the day in feasting and dancing. Martin played the flute, Brown the

violin, and Mills sung a good song. We feasted on turtle, fowl, and fish, quaffing the pure stream of Violet river, without any sensible diminution of it. We all slept soundly at night, keeping no watch as we had heretofore done, with arms in our hands, against the depredations of these six ungrateful villains, we were now so happily rid of; and I think no small credit is due, for the great forbearance we had shown towards them.

Notwithstanding the cares of their families, our women had been very industrious, and brought much to pass. On the lots of ground around the village, we had the pleasure of seeing a goodly store of bananas, yams, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, &c. in great forwardness. A shed had been built for the purpose, and the forge set up, a few rods from the village, and Mr. Martin, who had served sometime in his youth, at the business, acted as blacksmith; making shovels, hoes, and such articles as were

most wanted. We had plenty of sea-coal reserved from the ship; and built a work shop adjoining, where each one occasionally exercised his ingenuity at making handles to our shovels and hoes, and benches, tables, and chests, for the convenience of our houses.

The hogs, goats and fowls, we had let loose upon the island, were considered as common stock; each one having reserved a proportion of these animals, for their private property; and a great subject of argument it made among the women, whose pig looked best, who had the most chickens, and whose goats gave the most milk.

We were anxious to procure some of the ducks and teal we had seen in the pond, up the valley, for the purpose of taming them; the river offering a fine place for the purpose. Each one offered some plan to take them alive; but Mr. Mills, who had the quickest thought, observed, "we had

only to seek and bring home their eggs, and our own hens could hatch them." To this we could not object.

I offered my services, accompanied by Mr. Williams, to furnish the supply we wanted ; and providing ourselves with tools to make a canoe, and provisions for the voyage, we embarked in a canoe, for Indian village ; there intending to take up our residence, until we should have completed a small canoe, expressly to be used in the pond ; leaving our associates to commence the citadel, we had intended to build at Horse shoe valley, not knowing how soon we might be called upon to retreat to it for safety.

On landing at Indian village, I was pleased to find that the Indians had not been idle. They had cleared more land than we had, and the crop promised more abundance. The distance of the pond from the Village was about one mile. Making the Village

our head quarters, we began the canoe near the edge of the pond, where we found a tree suitable for our purpose, which we soon completed, and landed on the island ; which, as had been before suggested, was the breeding place of these fowls ; and no art of man could have ever produced any thing so well adapted for the convenience and wants of these birds.

Taking care not to disturb the birds, that were on their nests, we collected as many eggs as we could well carry. Among the eggs we collected, were some we supposed to be the eggs of geese, as we saw many of the latter birds on the north side of the island swimming in the pond. We tarried a few days to weed and trim the grounds round the Indian Village ; and after a week's absence returned to our companions.

The eggs were regularly shared among the women, who were given to understand, that the common hens would hatch them,

but the birds when hatched would be of a different kind. These eggs were received with much delight, and many bets made by the ladies, as to each other's success.

I suggested to our captain the expediency of sending one family to take up their residence at Indian village, for the purpose of taking care of the crops there. Two families would have done better, but we could not spare so many hands at present, as we were in haste to finish the citadel.

Our captain had the power of ordering any one he chose on this service; but there were so many volunteers on this occasion, the difficulty was who should be gratified, which was finally settled by lot and fell upon Mr. Mc'Koy, who embarked the next day for the village, with as many leave-takings, as if he were bound to some distant country forever. His wife and child accompanied him in this excursion.

The signals used by the British ships of war were in our possession, as also most of the flags necessary in using them. A copy of the signals and flags enough for the purpose were given him, by which he could at any time communicate with us from the rising ground of East watcher. I found that little progress had been made on the citadel, during my absence; the art of fortification being quite unknown to any of us. Some trees however had been cleared from the valley and a few huts erected after the Otaheitean fashion.

Each one was working in his mind, how an opening of twelve hundred feet could be fortified in such a manner, as that eight men could defend it, and how it could be done with the least possible labour. After many debates and many plans and schemes, it was agreed that the wood in front of the pass should be cut down, that an enemy should not have the advantage of this concealment, as he advanced to attack us.

The plan however finally adopted, in which each of us claimed some share, as to the contrivance, was to leave a double row of trees standing in the mouth of the passage, forming an obtuse angle with the center of the passage way; and to fill the vacancies, between the trees with smaller ones, that could be transplanted with ease: making the whole a solid fence or barrier with posts driven strongly between the trees. At the aforesaid angle, in the center, we proposed building a small battery, of the trees we had already felled, in such a manner, as the guns in it could be brought to range in a line with each row of trees, taking an enemy in flank, on the right or left of the battery; the whole to be mounted with two four pounders and six swivels.

We found a suitable place, near the summit of the North and South centinels, for a battery of one four pounder each, so situated as to play on the outside or inside of

the citadel. Should an enemy carry the lower battery, it would be of no advantage to him, as our men retreating by passes, unknown to the enemy, could join their comrades on the hill, and make the victory a dear one. This being the best plan we ignoramuses in the art could suggest, we set about completing it with alacrity. Williams drily observed, that we should want more rope than could be mustered, to hoist the guns up the centinel, as he saw no place to hook the tackle to, but the moon.

And here was another exercise of our ingenuity ; for at first view, the difficulty of raising the guns to so great a height, did not appear ; but on second thoughts, the method of doing it did not immediately present itself. We determined, however, to get them up somehow or other, if possible.

The places in the centinels, intended for the guns, were about 100 feet perpendicular from the ground, where the rock left a suf-

ficient platform for the working of a gun, of about thirty feet wide. The summit of the peak rose forty feet more, above the platform, in an irregular manner, and with many fissures in the sides. The centinels were not exactly alike ; the north one being much more convenient and not so high by ten feet.

Without giving a particular account of the various plans proposed of davits, dericks and parbuckles, I shall briefly relate how we did raise the guns to their present elevation. We took a five inch hawser, that formerly belonged to the *Bounty*, and made one end of it fast to a crag of the peak, near its summit, which we could climb on the inside. The other end was hauled taught below, by a tackle fastened to a tree, at about three hundred feet from the base of the sentinel. This inclined rope, standing like the main stay of a ship, passed over our platform at a sufficient height for our purpose. Fixing a large viol block on this stay, we hung the

gun to the block ; and, by means of another tackle, hoisted the gun up the inclined stay. When the gun was over the platform, we eased away the tackle at the tree and safely landed it on the intended spot.

With a little dirt sent up in this way, we levelled the spot, and secured our guns by means of ring bolts, fastened in the rocks, and gun tackles, such as are used on board a ship : and when the gun was secured, no one would ever suspect such a bulldog there.

The numerous fissures in the rocks served us for magazines, without labour, to deposit our cartridges, rammers, wads and other materials. Having completed this retreat, we erected flag staffs on different parts of the island, in such places and positions, as could be easily seen from any part of the island, but not visible from the seaboard.

June 1791. Winter had now commenced in this part of the world, and to us accustomed to colder weather the climate was not disagreeable: but the women having been accustomed to a warmer climate, made great complaints of the cold; and now we found our seal skins of great service; lining the inside of our houses with them, whereby the cold was much excluded. The rain fell in great quantities this month, and we found our huts, that would have answered very well at Otaheite, poorly adapted to this climate. We had gathered and stored our crops, which repaid us well for our labour; and Mr. Mc'Koy had returned to the society, having with some assistance, secured the crop at Indian village.

We were not idle during the winter, but each one was occupied upon some useful work; such as clearing land of trees and bushes, for an enlarged crop the next season; mending and patching our houses; and fencing our grounds; or upon some work,

that promised to be useful to himself or the community. We were sadly in want of boards. The only method, we had as yet adopted to supply this article, was the very tedious and laborious one of sawing them out by hand, with a common hand-saw.

In rummaging over the stores of the *Bounty*, I found a pit saw, such as are always sent on voyages of this kind; and with the occasional help that was afforded me, I contrived to make this saw go by water. The work however was very clumsy, and not completed to saw a board without many alterations. We saved much labour by this saw-mill, which enabled us to make free use of boards, to the great improvement and convenience of our houses. In the medicine chest we found a bundle of flaxseed, and a small paper of oats, which we reserved for the planting season, and for which we prepared an additional quantity of land, calculating much on the

advantages we should derive from both the flax and oats.

We were all invited to a conference at the captain's house, on the first day of July, upon a subject many of us had long had in contemplation. Being assembled at the appointed time, captain Christian observed, that the compact we had made on board the *Bounty*, at Otaheite, had answered all the purposes it was intended for thus far; but from the increasing state of the community it could not long be governed by such an instrument, as we had signed our names to, especially when the community should be increased to any considerable number.

He was therefore of opinion that it was incumbent upon us, not only for the good order of ourselves, but of those who may come after us, to frame a system of laws, as simple and concise as in our ignorance of politics could be devised, stating clearly the manner in which we shall agree to be gov-

erned, and framing such laws upon the strength of this agreement, as should best tend to good order, morality and industry. This he thought was highly necessary; for a community without some restraints, and laws for its guidance, would be like a ship's crew without officers, all anarchy and confusion; an instance of which was too recent in their knowledge to have been so soon forgotten. With patience and application we could accomplish it; and when completed, if not the best, it would certainly, if bad, be better than none. It was a duty we owed our descendants, and was probably the chief thing that defined the difference between civilized and savage life.

The task of forming what, perhaps with propriety, ought to be called a constitution, was given to captain Christian, myself and Mr. Young; and although all of us were as ignorant of political government, as we were of the art of fortification, yet we adopted the following constitution, without any de-

bate, except some slight objections to the titles of commodore, captain and master, as not perfectly applicable to an establishment of this kind ; but admitted as applicable to the usages and customs of sailors, in whom such a deviation could be excused. We all signed our names to the instrument, and as yet have seen no cause to alter, or repent it.

1st. " We whose names are hereunto subscribed, do set forth and declare as follows. That we owe allegiance to no prince, or potentate whatever, nor will we voluntarily resign our present freedom and independence to become the colony or subjects of, do homage, or acknowledge allegiance to any principality, or power, on earth, other than this instrument may purport.

2d. That the island, on which our lot is so pleasantly cast, shall be called Pacific Island, in commemoration of the good fellowship, and harmony that has heretofore prevailed among us, and of the ocean in which it is situated.

3d. That we will have one chief ruler, whose title shall be, in the sailor phrase; Commodore. He shall be chosen for life—and in case of vacancy, his place shall be supplied by that candidate, who shall have the majority of votes of all the male inhabitants, that shall have arrived at the age of eighteen, on the island. His duty shall be to look after and guard the general interest of the community—and he shall be commander in chief, both in a civil and military capacity.

4th. The second in command shall have the title of Captain. He shall attend the enforcing such laws, which shall be made from time to time. He shall assume all the powers of the commodore, on his incapacity to act. He shall be one of the commodore's council, and shall attend for that purpose when called upon. This officer may be displaced by the vote of seven eighths of the male inhabitants, allowed to vote for the commodore.

5th. The third in command shall have the title of Master. He shall be considered as one of the council, and shall attend when called upon. He shall act as judge in all cases not criminal, and there shall be no appeal from his decision. He shall hold his office, as to the time of its duration, on the same terms as the captain.

6th. Their shall be a Secretary chosen and appointed by the commodore and council, whose duty shall be to keep a record of all the laws, public acts, marriages, deaths, and weddings on the island. He shall bring to trial all criminals, which shall come within his knowledge. He shall collect the evidence necessary for the prosecution of them before the proper tribunal. He shall collect, and safely keep all the funds of the community. He shall keep a fair account of the same, and settle his accounts yearly with the council.

7th. The commodore and council may appoint other officers, in addition to the foregoing, as their services may be wanted ; defining their duties and compensation, in a warrant issued under the seal of the island signed by the commodore and secretary.

8th. Every male inhabitant of sound mind, and having arrived at the age of eighteen, shall be entitled to a vote in forming the laws of this community, until such male inhabitants shall exceed the number of thirty ; and when by the secretary's records, such excess shall appear ; the name of every male inhabitant as above described shall be put into a box, and on the sixteenth day of October yearly, there shall be drawn from the box by the commodore, captain, or master, in a public manner, the names of ten men, which ten men when so drawn, shall to all intents and purposes represent the whole community in forming laws, and voting for commodore, captain and mas-

ter : and a majority of these ten men shall be considered a majority of all the legal voters on the island.

It shall be the duty of the secretary to add such names to the box, as shall have arrived at the full age of eighteen, in addition to the ten previously drawn, on the fifteenth day of October yearly, in a public manner and at noon day. These ten men shall be called the Assistants ; and when the commodore and council shall find it necessary to frame new laws, or repeal, or alter old ones, their attendance shall be required at the council board, and when they shall be equally divided on any subject, the council shall be entitled to vote individually and at all times to debate on the subject in discussion.

9th. All public acts, commissions, and warrants shall be stamped with the seal of the island, which seal shall be in the keeping of the commodore : Said seal shall

be one half inch in diameter, bearing the device, a hatchet grasped by two hands, at the handle the words, "Pacific Island, 1790," above; underneath the motto—"iron and labour better than gold and indolence."

We were constantly called upon to exercise our ingenuity on one thing or another. How to make the seal was now the question, and now wanted, to give sanction to the foregoing instrument; our blacksmith declaring positively he could not execute it in iron. But with a piece of iron forged to the intended shape and size, with much cutting, punching, filing and polishing, something was produced, that came as near the thing wanted, as our art and materials could produce. There was but one thing to recommend it, which was the great difficulty any one would find in making a similar seal.

Acting upon the foregoing instrument, we unanimously made choice of Fletcher Chris-

tian as commodore, Alexander Smith as captain, and Edward Young as master. These three in their turn made choice of John Williams, secretary. Our proceedings being made known to the ladies, they insisted upon celebrating the day with feasting and dancing, making a voluntary offer to commence building a magnificent council house the next day, wherever we should think best to have it erected ; to be particularly appropriated for the government to hold their sittings.

Their offer was accepted ; the ladies however claiming the privilege of building it after their own form and manner, and giving such a name to the edifice, when completed, as they themselves should agree upon. As this stipulation was not unreasonable, we made no objection. A spot was designated, near the foot of Landmark hills, sufficiently elevated to give a view of the river, and Pyramid hill in front. At a dis-

tance up the valley the water fall could be seen, and on the right lay the citadel.

Here the women, headed by Mrs. Christian (who assumed no little consequence to herself, as being the wife of the commodore) the next day commenced the building. Choosing a perfectly strait cocoa-nut tree for the center, posts were driven into the ground, in a complete circle round this center, and at the distance of fifteen feet from it, and of the height of eight feet, inclining the roof in a point towards the tree, and securing the rafters firmly to the tree after the fashion of their own country.

The roof they were at great pains to thatch very thick and strong; and extending it two feet beyond the circle of posts. The whole circumference, which measured ninety feet, they divided exactly into nine parts, making nine doors of wicker work and nine windows of the same, carefully thatching the intervals as they had the roof.

We had found, some time previously to this, an excellent quarry of slate, that broke perfectly free and true, not far up the hill, in the rear of the new building. The interior of the building they handsomely laid with these slates, and covered the whole with mats, made expressly for the occasion.

None of us were allowed to go near the edifice, while it was building; and to gratify them we honourably abstained from any interference whatever. Mr. Mills being a great favourite with the women, he was frequently called upon for his assistance, having been previously bound to secrecy.

On the first day of August, we were invited to take possession of the house: Forming a procession at the village, of each man his wife and child, we proceeded through the woods, until the building broke upon our view. We were all much astonished at the taste and convenience evinced in this

building; but our astonishment was much greater, when madam Christian, with young Christian in her arms, attended by Mrs. Smith and Young, proceeded to hoist a handsome flag to a staff, Mr. Mills had erected for them, on the top of the tree, forming the centre of the building; requesting us, at the same time, to consider the flag as the standard of the island. The flag was made from spare bunting of the Bounty's stores, two red and white longitudinal stripes, with a blue union, containing eighteen stars; nine red, and nine white. Its signification was very evident and very appropriate.

When the flag was up, madam Christian observed it was the wish of the ladies, that the building should be called "the round house," which name it has held ever since. Dinner was prepared for us, under a tent made of sails, and the day passed pleasantly and happily. The ladies gave much credit to Mr. Mills, for the readiness with which he assisted them; and we complimented the ladies much on their patriotism and skill.

Mr. Williams observed, the round house was much like John O'Groat's house, on the north end of Scotland, where in former days, eight men of the Groat family assembled, once a year, to feast and make merry, never failing to end in a dispute as to precedence at the table. One of them, wiser than the rest, pledged himself, that if they would suspend their animosities until the next, they should not find cause for these yearly disputes. He accordingly, before their next meeting, completed a new building with eight sides, eight doors and eight windows, with a table of eight equal sides in the center, which effectually ended the dispute. The house stands on a hill, in the north part of Scotland. Vessels passing the Pentland frith, can see it, and it is universally called John O'Groat's house.

We had now much work on our hands, besides the daily occupation necessary to our daily comfort and existence. As the season was near at hand for planting, we

were solicitous to prepare as much ground as possible. The slow and laborious method of grubbing up the earth with a hoe or spade, induced me to reflect upon the great advantages of a plough, over this slow and tedious method; and the plough running much in my head, I could not divert my thoughts to any thing else.

I found no difficulty, with the assistance of the forge, to make the plough, and absolutely began the work, before I had devised any plan for using it; trusting to that sudden flash of light which had so often helped me out, on similar occasions, to assist me on this. The plough was finished before this flash of light had evinced itself; and many jokes were passed upon me by my shipmates. I tried goats—but after much drilling, coaxing and beating, I found they had not the strength to move it even in soft ground.

Had I set my thoughts in the train, that reason finally suggested, I should have come

to a result long before—but my thoughts had never as yet wandered from a plough, to find the means of using one. But when I finally asked myself the question, how are heavy bodies moved? I soon found the answer. This taught me at the same time, that there was a system of thinking, as well as in acting, to come at certain conclusions. A cart is moved by oxen and horses. I was not in possession of either animal to move a plough. A hogshead is moved by rolling, &c.—this would not do. How is a ship moved? By wind—not always—sometimes she is moved by warping, as the term is.—Can I warp a plough? Yes—and here was a flash of light on the subject.

When the ship moves heavily, the warp is taken to a windlass, which adds manifold to the power. I will have a windlass to the plough, fixing it across the two handles, with permanent spokes, whereby to turn it, with a rope fast at one end of the field, the plough at the other end, the rope passing

through a block at the tongue of the plough, and round the windlass ; by turning this windlass I have a great power, and the plough must move.

I fixed my plough after this manner—and two men could turn more ground with it, than six men could in the same time with their hoes. We had two ropes of sixty fathoms each, by which the plough was moved across the lot, changing the end of each rope as we progressed, to the breadth of the next furrow, and securing it to the ground by a stick in the form of an anchor, taking over the slack end of the rope not in use, to return by. Ploughs became much in fashion, and the women proposed preserving the first one made, as a curiosity to be handed down to posterity.

I have now given you, my children, the basis of our government, and the fountain whence our laws have originated. It would be useless to repeat them here, as you have

free access to the public journals, where you will find them all recorded.

* * * * *

[Here we find another break in the papers, or Smith did not enter into the minutiae of daily transactions, which could not afford much instruction or entertainment, after what has been already written. It would perhaps have been more correct, to have stated in the preface, that the papers received by the publisher were loose pieces, which seemed to have been written from time to time, and probably had been copied by some other hand, into a regular book, and these pieces after they had been copied, thrown into the chest, they were taken from.

If such, which is highly probable, were the case; the deficiency is in some measure accounted for, upon the probability that Smith discontinued the chest, as the repos-

itory of the loose sketches, that had been previously copied. It is not probable that Smith would relate circumstances of his life to be handed down to posterity of small or uninteresting moment, and that took place during the perfect recollection of his children. Upon the whole it would not be improbable to suppose, that he did not write during the interval of time that seems to have elapsed, without notice of any occurrence.]

The next date found is December twenty seventh, 1795. In the morning early a signal was hoisted at Pyramid hill for "a sail in sight steering towards the island." I immediately repaired to Indian village, accompanied by all the women and some of the children, to receive the visitors, if they should land, and tell the story, which had been previously agreed upon, in cases of this kind: "That Christian was no more, having died a natural death; that all the other white men were murdered by

the Indians, that came from Otaheite in the Bounty ; and that the Indians in their turn, had been murdered by the women ; and that only myself, the women and children present, were alive on the island."

The commodore with the other men, and the remainder of the children repaired to the citadel to act as occasion might require. This vessel passed by at the distance of six leagues taking no notice of us.

In August, 1796, a second vessel passed, when the same precautions were taken by us as before. In June 1799, a third vessel passed near enough for us to see the men on her decks ; but as the surf was at that time very high, our dwellings not visible from the seaboard, and no smokes appearing, she also left us without making an attempt to land.

We had made it a rule, for many years, that no fires should be kindled on the isl-

and, until liberty was given from the look out, by hoisting a red flag, the signal that "no ship was in sight;" and when the Blue Peter, as it was called, was hoisted at the look out, the first thing to be done, was to extinguish the fires, that ships in sight might not see these signs of inhabitants.

I took up my quarters about this time, altogether at Indian village as a matter of choice and policy. The commodore had placed his son under my instruction and care, with some other young men. Our village formed a little square, with poultry in the center. It was the only visible place to land; and I could see the ocean to a greater extent, than any where else.

Here I should always be at my post in case of alarm, and could pass the village, on a visitor, as the only one on the island. The best place to land on any part of the island was at the mouth of Violet river; but this did not appear from the sea board. The river

emptied itself into the ocean, through a perpendicular fissure in the rock, about twenty feet wide and the same in height. We had proposed to fortify this landing, in the first year of our coming here ; but concluded it better to fix a canvass to imitate the rock, that should be extended, in case of alarm, from side to side, when no opening could be seen ; the whole presenting a bluff of continued rock.

February, 1803, the Blue Peter was again hoisted on the look out, with the addition of a Blue Jack, meaning landing practicable. Our whole number at this time amounted to seventy souls. One half the children and all the women repaired to Indian village, there to pass, as the whole population. And now curiosity having got in some measure the better of our fears, I was instructed to attempt some communication with this vessel, if possible, and learn what was doing in the great world.

The commodore took his station as heretofore, at the citadel, now too strong in numbers and situation to be in much fear. I was at great pains to instruct the young men and women, in the story to be told, should these strangers land, impressing it strongly upon them, that our preservation entirely depended upon establishing this fact, in the minds of our visitors.

I could plainly perceive this to be an American vessel by her bright sides, and a certain air peculiar to such vessels. When they had approached the island near enough, I dispatched three young men to invite the captain on shore, and impress upon him the impossibility of landing, in his own boat, through the surf. The lads returned twice without the captain, with an invitation to me to come on board the ship. This I of course declined.

The third return of the boat brought captain Folger, of the ship *Topaz* of Boston, on

a sealing voyage. He seemed much astonished at our settlement, as well he might. He observed that the whole seemed like paradise, or the work of enchantment ; it was so unexpected to him, to find an island thus alone in the great ocean, that he had every reason in the world to suppose desolate and uninhabited, so agreeably settled, and by a race of people too, who could speak fluently his own language.

I invited him into the house, and set before him such fruits as were in season, and such refreshment as was in our power. I told him the dismal tale that had been prepared for the occasion : That Christian was dead, and my other shipmates murdered by some native Indians, &c. He listened as well as a man could, whose every feeling of delight, curiosity and excitement seemed to be wrought up to the highest pitch imaginable. The girls mustered thickly round him, and they seemed equally pleased with each other.

After relating to him, in as brief a manner as possible, all of consequence for him to know, I asked him if he had ever heard of captain Bligh. "Yes, frequently," was the reply. "Captain Bligh, with all his boat's crew, except one, had arrived in safety at the island of Timor, and thence taken passage for Batavia and England ; at which latter place, twelve of the whole number saved in the boat, had arrived in safety."

"A vessel called the Pandora, had been sent out to Otaheite, for the mutineers, and had apprehended all of them that were alive, except nine, that had left the place in the ship, under command of Christian, and that neither ship or Christian had been heard of since. The Pandora had the misfortune to be cast away, on some sand Keys near New Guinea, where some of the mutineers were drowned. Those of the crew and mutineers saved from the wreck, proceeded in the boats to Timor, and thence to Eng-

land, in a Dutch ship, where the mutineers were tried; a few of them were executed; the rest acquitted, or reprieved." Captain Folger could not recollect the names or number of those executed, but thinks there were but three that suffered.

Of my own country I enquired. He told me they had adopted a republican constitution, and had chosen Washington for their first president, John Adams had succeeded him, and at the present date, Thomas Jefferson was president. He gave me many particulars of the revolution in France, and of the battles by sea, of Howe, Duncan and others.

We filled two canoes with fruit, hogs and fowls, for the ship; and I gave captain Folger the azimuth compass, and captain Bligh's chronometer, on his requesting some trifle to prove he had fallen in with us; and with many hearty shakes by the hand, and many adieus from the girls, he left us,

evidently with great reluctance; but sacrificed his enjoyment to that duty. ship masters so scrupulously perform, where their owners' interest is concerned.

His stay on the island, was about six hours; and in return for our civilities, he offered us any thing his ship could furnish. He would have sent us some wine and liquors; but these I forbid the lads to take.

The Topaz soon filled away, on receiving her captain on board, and left us perhaps forever. As I was situated near three miles from the main village, I communicated by signal to the commodore, the substance of what is here written, sending his son at the same time to give a particular account to his father of all that had taken place.

The next day the men came over to visit me to glean what had not been collected from other sources, and talk over this memorable event. We concluded our scheme

had been a good one so far ; and it was highly probable from the story which should be told by captain Folger, on his return, that the British government would not disturb an individual, situated as I seemed to be, when they might think it of consequence to send after nine men, and the ringleader amongst them.

The commodore was very much pleased with the *Topaz*, having had a fair view of her from the citadel. He had no idea the Americans had arrived at so much perfection, in ship building and seamanship ; and was sorry to say his own country merchant vessels suffered much in the comparison. The vessel had drifted to leeward and the officer on board found it necessary to work to windward to maintain his original position. This he observed was done with as much precision and adroitness, as the most finished British frigate could have done ; and it would have been a great gratification to have gone on board and inspected every part of her.

The visit of captain Folger has been considered, as it were, a new era on the island. It furnished a subject of much conversation to the men; and an inexhaustible source of inquiry from our children, as to the manners and customs of other countries. Our flax and oats had succeeded wonderfully. We had taught the method of preparing the flax; made spinning wheels, and by practice the women learned themselves to spin and weave. The cloth thus made was in much higher estimation, than that made from the cloth or mulberry tree.

Our police laws had made it indispensably requisite, that every male and female of five years old and over, should be covered from the neck to below the knees, whenever they appeared outside their dwellings; and I was sorry to see during the visit of captain Folger, that some of our women took advantage of this law within a dwelling, to display in an attempted careless manner more of their forms than usual, yet not enough to be deemed immodest.

The manufactory of linen led to other wants. Soap was made to wash with, and all the ashes used in cooking carefully preserved for that purpose. We had now many young men able to lend a helping hand at any thing. With some instruction they had formed a most delightful bathing house for the girls.

It was thirty feet diameter, six feet deep in the center, and but two feet deep at the circumference, and the bottom covered with slate. It had but one door, and was lighted from the roof. On the inside was a paved walk, three feet wide all round the building. It was supplied with water from Violet river, and could be filled or emptied in thirty minutes.

From two boxes of copper, found on board the *Bounty*, we coined money enough for the purchase of small articles. The largest piece coined was called a tender, and of the value of a female healthy goat by law. This was divided into halves,

quarters, eighths, and sixteenths, or rather coins of that proportion. On one side of each piece was the arms of the island, on the reverse the name of the coin.

We had built a church in a pleasant situation, and affixed to it the bell of the Bounty. In this church prayers were read on Sundays from the common prayer book, and an extemporaneous address given by one of the government, containing exhortations to morality, as the surest way of rendering themselves acceptable to their Heavenly Father. The goodness of God was impressed upon them rather than his vengeance. They were taught to consider him, as the author and giver of every blessing they enjoyed.

The golden rule was held up to them, to do as they would be done by, and to love their neighbours as themselves; this rule comprehending all on their part, to entitle them to the perfect love of their Heavenly Father. Morality was enforced upon them,

as bringing its own reward, and further elucidated by some example of real life.

The question was asked, if you cultivate with great toil and labour a garden, plant it with the various fruits, it is capable of producing, what is your reward? "The fruit it produces certainly." So with the human heart; if you cultivate a good, kind and benevolent feeling, one towards another, it brings with it the reward of peace, confidence and a reciprocity of good actions.

I shall here relate a singular fact, which will tend to shew that my shipmates were not totally depraved; or if they had not a due sense of right and wrong in all points, they had some scruples in others. When the mutiny took place on board the *Bounty*, it was not possible for those in the boat to take with them their chests and trunks, which were consequently left on board. When the *Bounty* was run on shore, these chests and trunks of the captain, officers,

and men were landed, without ever having been opened to this day. And although they undoubtedly contained many articles, which would be of great use to us, not one man amongst us but turns with disdain from any intimation to open them, and convert the contents to common use.

I have often wondered, in my own mind, what principle could operate on the human mind to produce this effect. We may have all felt a pride to evince, that we have not been actuated by a sordid motive, in our conduct to captain Bligh and his officers, and the hope of gain or plunder was no incitement to the act we committed. We may feel a repugnance to bring before our eyes proofs of an act, we have all since most heartily repented of. Such, however, is the fact; and it has been seriously proposed to ship them, in the first English vessel which should stop here, to be returned to England; if not to the benefit of those whose property they once were, yet for the benefit of their children and heirs.

January the first, 1810, was the first wedding of our descendants on the island. October Christian had for some years been engaged to my oldest daughter Rebecca Terapo Smith, Terapo being the name of her mother. The bride was dressed in garments, principally of her own manufacture; a long loose robe of white linen, with a fine ruffle round the bosom, taken by Christian's mother, from one of her husband's best shirts; long loose sleeves, tied at intervals with strings of blue linen, prepared for the purpose, as a substitute for ribbon.

I objected strongly to colours on this occasion; but in this I was over ruled and laughed at by my wife, who had not lost the savage taste for colours, imbibed by her education; neither should we have got the robe on, if our police laws had not been in favour of it.

A strip of light blue cloth was taken round the waist, crossed over the back,

shoulders and breast, and tied in a handsome bow under the right arm. This was also a substitute for ribbon. Round the bottom of the robe and petticoat, a red stripe was artfully died; handsome sandals, laced with yellow cord, round the feet and ancles, with blue bows interspersed; her hair, which was naturally of a glossy black, curled gracefully over her forehead, and in her neck; round the head was wound many yards of braided hair, her mother had taught her to make, interspersed with real roses, and jessamine.

Upon the whole she made a very handsome bride; and, as to movement, no queen could move with more majesty and ease. She was attended by ten young women, dressed in white; and but for the argument I made use of, that these ten ladies should be dressed plain, to shew off the bride to greater advantage, they would have added colours also to their dress.

I tried hard to reduce the number of special attendants to two; observing that only a queen would require so many. "Shall I not marry a prince and in consequence be a princess?" I had better have held my tongue, and left them to manage in their own way.

Christian was dressed in the uniform of a master's mate, which his father had presented to him on this occasion; he having been appointed to this office, as deemed necessary, sometime previously. The service was performed in the church, in presence of almost every individual on the island. The deed of a house and estate was presented to him by the commodore, and a very appropriate and suitable charge was given them, as a guide for their future conduct in life.

The day was passed in great harmony and rejoicing. The bride and bridegroom were escorted to the Indian village, where the estate lay, in the government canoe,

decked out with most of our signal flags, by forty canoes. We had a number of weddings this year, all of which may be found on record, but none of so great note as the foregoing.

The task of teaching the children had heretofore devolved on me principally, until within these few years past. I had been at great pains to teach them every thing I knew myself, and particularly desirous that they should all be taught, and accustomed to speak the English language. In this, however, we were not seconded by the women, who having the care of the children, in their infancy, notwithstanding our remonstrances, would insist upon teaching them their mother tongue ; and now, although there are some, who can speak English very well, yet in general, among our descendants, a jargon has crept in, which is neither English nor Otaheitean, but such as each one understands—and I am fearful when the original settlers shall be numbered with the

dead, this jargon will obtain the entire ascendancy.

June, 1814. We were much alarmed, this day, by the disappearance of two of our children. The wife of the commodore having descended from an eminent chief at Otaheite, had brought with her all the aristocratic feelings, peculiar to such a situation. These were not diminished by her being the queen, as it were, of our island. The superiority she assumed was submitted to here, without opposition by the other women, as a matter of course, shewing the force of habit and early education.

Mrs. Christian had a daughter, named Christiana Tirao Christian, whom her mother had educated with all her high notions of rank and superiority. The young lady had suffered herself to indulge an affection for the eldest son of Mr. Brown, named William, who in his turn was strongly attached to the young lady.

Brown was a very handsome young man, and every way worthy such a woman : but it seems, there had been a falling out between Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Christian, which the latter would never forgive ; and on young Brown's offering to marry Miss Christian, her mother positively refused ; declaring her daughter should never marry so beneath her dignity. The commodore was perfectly satisfied with the offered match ; but he could make no impression on his inflexible spouse. And for the sake of peace in his family, forbore to urge a subject which seemed to call forth the worst of feeling.

Not so the young people : They both disappeared on the tenth day of June, 1814. Brown's canoe was gone, and many articles, the property of both, were missing. This occasioned a great ferment and distress, among all classes. Parties were sent out in all directions to seek them ; but no intelligence that could any way lead to a discovery, was made—and the fatal conclusion adopted,

that, in a fit of desperation, they had committed themselves to the ocean, in hopes of finding another island, where they could live unmolested in the society of each other.

Many bitter wailings and regrets escaped from Mrs. Christian, at her own obstinacy, now unavailing. Her daughter was a truly amiable girl, and as well educated as the island could afford. She had been very useful in bringing forward the children, in reading, writing, and other instruction, and her loss was sincerely regretted both by the old and young. Brown was equally regretted by us all ; and would not have suffered in comparison with any young man on the island.

September the seventeenth, 1814. The whole number of souls on the island at this date, as appears by the records, were one hundred and six, men, women and children ; not including our loss, as before related, in this number. The whole number of married couples, was twenty six. There have

been but ten deaths on the island : and of these, but one person who had arrived at mature age, the wife of Mr. John Mills. The other deaths were of children, from infancy to the age of six years.

September the eighteenth, 1814. An alarm being given on the look out, of two ships in the offing, Mr. Young the master, ascended the hill with a glass, and reported them to be two British frigates. Our commodore was somewhat moved by this intelligence. He ordered every man to his post; and presuming these frigates knew not of captain Folger's having been at the place, he ordered me to assume a new name, that the officers of these ships, not finding such a name on the list of mutineers, might not think it a duty to apprehend me. On the contrary, should they discover my real name, their duty might lead them to act otherwise.

I accordingly assumed the name of John Adams, charging the women and children

not to forget when addressing me, in presence of strangers, by this new name. When the frigates were sufficiently near, I sent October Christian and Young, to board them, with the old story, except my new name. The lads soon landed with the captain of each ship, the Briton and Tagus frigates. The surf being uncommonly high, they were completely wet through on landing.

These gentlemen viewed us with surprise and admiration. We repeated the story of the six Indians, before told captain Folger. They had not much to relate, in addition to what we had heard from captain Folger, except the war with Great Britain and America. We entertained them with all the hospitality we were capable of. There were many articles, the produce of our gardens, pressed upon them : But the surf was too high to carry much off to the ships, in our small canoes. After a short stay, they were safely carried on board their ships,

with all the apparent cordial leave-takings and good wishes, on such occasions.

The canoe returned with some cooking utensils and other articles of use to us. The ships filled away before night, and left us, not so much regretted as our former visitor, although the women were much more delighted with them. The handsome uniform of the British navy, and the easy and gentleman-like manners of the officers, could not fail to please. Besides, the girls could not look into our fears, from visitors of this description.

A cow, on board the Briton had forcibly attracted the attention of the young men, and captain Staines would have made us a present of her, had she been with young, or had been any prospect of increasing the stock. As it was, she could be of no manner of use to us. Our commodore was greatly relieved, when he saw the ships fill away, and expressed a hope that they would never repeat their visit in his day ; and probably

they never will, this last being accidental altogether.

A strange story was going the round of the island, at this time, which must have originated with Mc Quintal, who, in every other respect, was a good and intelligent man, but carried his superstition and belief in witches and witchcraft to an unwarrantable degree. This was no other than, that the island was haunted by evil spirits. The first report arose from a story told by Mc Quintal himself, that, returning one night from Seal cove, with three young men, they were alarmed by the uncommon appearance of a fire, or illumination on the top of Seal island; and at intervals the figures of men and women were observed passing through the fire—an unusual cloud of smoke, and smell of sulphur.

These appearances so very alarming, Mc Quintal insisted, could be occasioned only by witches, that were roasting some victim by the fire, and dancing with delight at the torments they inflicted: And by adding some

stories of his own, and enlarging on the appearances, he so worked up his own and the young men's fears, they had hardly strength to reach the village.

This story was soon in every body's mouth, and in a few nights verified by others, that had seen the whole as before related, with their own eyes. And now fear had so full possession of the women and youth of the island, that no one would go alone to that part of it in the day time; and some would not even leave their houses in the evening. The illumination on the high rocks of Seal Island, and shadows of men and women passing before it, became too well substantiated to be contradicted, and we puzzled our heads much to account for them.

The whole island was evidently volcanic, and some flame might have broken out on the top or sides of it. In opposition to this solution, it was argued, that this being the case, the smoke would appear in the day time, which was not the case: Then again how to account for the figures of men and

women. The numerous and grotesque figures of the rocks might interfere, and throw their shadows on the light, and the flitting of the blaze by the wind, added to our imaginations, might give them the appearance of motion.

This however was not at all satisfactory to myself, who had with my own eyes seen the strange appearance. I determined to visit and explore this island, and if possible, find out the cause of this wonderful appearance. Christian and Young, junrs. insisted upon going with me, with each a musket. I told them if they were real witches, their muskets would be of no use whatever, because witches could assume any shape, and make themselves visible, or invisible, at pleasure. "Lay aside your muskets, lads, as useless; if they are witches they will do you no harm. I cannot solve the riddle; but will do my utmost to clear up the mystery."

We landed on the island next day opposite Seal cove; thence it gradually ascend-

ed, being covered thickly with such trees as grew on the main island. As we approached the north part, the cliffs of rock presented a perpendicular barrier of immense height, reaching from shore to shore. "Now my lads we must climb this rock." Young observed, that a witch might climb it, by all account, but it was beyond the power of man to do. This we found the case ; after traversing it from shore to shore several times we quit it in despair.

"Well, lads, we will now row round the island; perhaps we can ascend from the sea side of it." But in this we were equally unsuccessful. The failure of this expedition, as may be supposed, did not tend to allay the fears, already too prevalent; we having returned without having effected the object of our search.

Throughout my life I never encountered any thing so difficult to account for, not admitting in my own mind the possibility of their being produced by supernatural means, as had been given into by others.

In this state of uncertainty we continued many months, the strange illuminations and figures continuing to be witnessed, beyond doubt or illusion.

We next heard of the witches at sea ; two lads having given chase to them in a canoe, near the island ; but the sudden disappearance of the canoe the witches were in, while the lads were in chase of them, left us all as much in the dark as ever. So great a bugbear had Seal island now become, that the whole promised to be a very disagreeable interruption to the happiness of the community.

June, 1815. I was much surprised to find a letter under the door of my house, as I opened it in the morning, directed to commodore Christian. I hastened to Violet village with it myself. It had no date ; but was written by William Brown, jun. and signed by himself and Christiana Tirao Brown, stating that they had been privately married, thirteen months before, by Master's Mate Christian, who was authori-

zed to perform such ceremonies ; that a regular record had been made of the marriage by the secretary ; and fearing the displeasure of Mrs. Christian would never be appeased, if it was made known to her, they had left the island ; not, however, without many regrets at the uneasiness their absence might occasion.

After many confessions, as to the impropriety of their conduct, and many promises of good behaviour in future, they implored the forgiveness of their parents, and an oblivion as to the past. They would consider a white flag hoisted on the north Centinel, as a favourable answer to their petition ; and when this signal should be given, they would on the following day give themselves up to their parents, and give their unfeigned thanks personally, for such an act of goodness towards them.

So great was the impatience of all to see them, that the flag was immediately hoisted, and left flying all day. Many conjectures, and speculations were in agitation all day, as to where they could have con-

cealed themselves, for a whole year, when so much unwearied pains had been taken to find them.

At my usual time of going to bed, I heard a light knock at the door. On opening it, who should appear but the parties themselves, whom we did not expect until the morrow! My surprize was as great, as if they had been restored from the dead; for I had concluded long since in my own mind, that they had committed themselves to the ocean, with the chance only, and that a small one, of falling in with other lands.

I took care of them this night; and in the morning accompanied them to the commodore's house, where I witnessed a scene of joy, delight and happiness, too exquisite for my feeble powers to attempt a description of. After this tumult had somewhat subsided, curiosity demanded a share of gratification. The story was short.

Brown stated, that "one day while fishing near Seal island, he discovered an opening in the cliff, in which he had the temerity

to enter, although little larger than to admit his canoe; that following this passage in a zigzag course, for about one hundred fathoms, a new world broke on his view: a large bason of still water, in front a beautiful white sandy beach, and an interval, covered with various kinds of trees, the whole valley containing about eighty acres. The bason was so full of seal and turtle, that he had some difficulty in landing clear of them.

Making fast his canoe, he traversed this delightful vale, protected from intrusion on all sides, by perpendicular rocks. Several little rills of water flowed down the fissures of the rocks; and near the foot of the cliff, in one place, he discovered a boiling spring, that was probably heated by some internal fire. The whole spot capable of cultivation was of an oval shape, and, as he observed before, was about eighty acres, or of one half mile extent one way and one quarter the other. Having thoroughly explored this place, he attempted to return, but could not, the tide having filled the space, by

which he entered. The time was not unpleasantly spent waiting the ebb of the tide, when he returned to the village.

I know not, says Brown, how I came to keep this discovery to myself; for not until the positive refusal of Mrs Christian to our union, did I contemplate the project, I put in execution. I had some difficulty in persuading Christiana to acquiesce in my scheme. Having gained her consent, I commenced preparing such necessaries, as we should want.

I had saved a little money, with which I purchased some pigs and fowls—making frequent trips to the place under pretence of fishing—letting the fowls loose in the valley, first cutting their wings. On the day we disappeared from the village, Christiana, under pretence of a walk, met me at the cove. By some accident, she was not so early as appointed; and the tide had risen considerably. I did not communicate my fears to her, but requesting her to lie down in the boat, I attempted the passage, in

which, however, I received several bad wounds in my head, from the undertow heaving the boat against the roof of the passage.

Here we built our hut, planted a garden and lived very happily together. I came near being discovered and overtaken, by some young men, fishing near the island, but escaped without being detected in our retreat. The delusion of the witches must have been occasioned by the reflection of our fire (using a cavity in the rock to cook in) thrown on the opposite hills—and our shadows intervening as we passed before it.

I placed the letter under the captain's door myself. Our motive to this was principally with a view to have that assistance from her mother and friends, which Mrs. Brown may soon stand in need of. I anxiously watched from an eminence, I had ascended, the concerted signal, and not waiting as proposed, landed last night at Indian village."

END.

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